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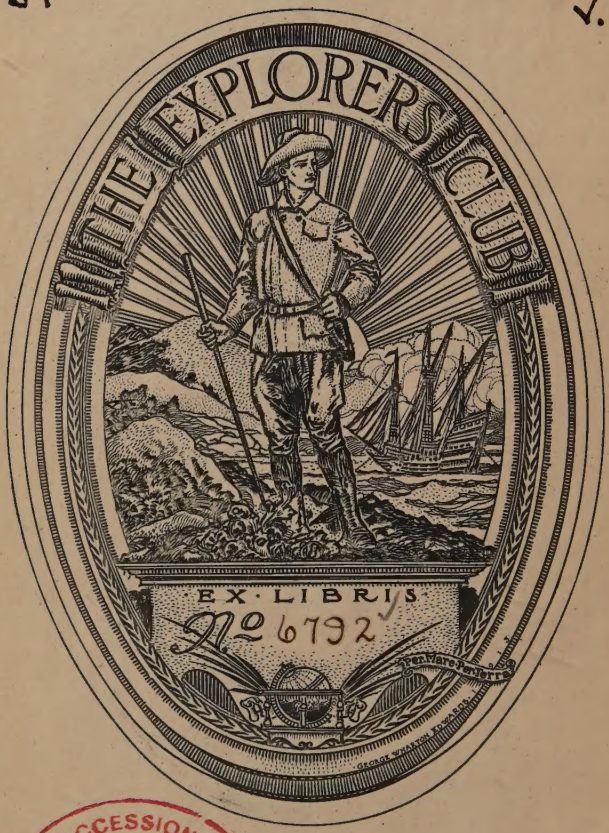

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THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

VOL. IV.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XXX.

ISSUED FOR 1912.

ARMS GRANTED BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

TO

HERNANDO CORTÉS.

FROM THE LIBRO DE ARMAS PRESERVED IN THE

HOSPITAL DE JESUS, MEXICO.

THE TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

BY

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,

ONE OF ITS CONQUERORS.

From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN MEXICO,

BY

GENARO GARCÍA.

Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes,

BY

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VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

MDCCCCXII

LONDON:
PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, W.C.

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BOOK X.

THE RETURN TO THE VALLEY.

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How we marched with all our Army on the way to the City of Texcoco, and what happened to us on the road, and other things that took place.

HEN Cortés saw that he possessed such a goodly store of muskets and powder and crossbows and realised the strong desire of all of us, both Captains and soldiers, again to attack the great City of Mexico, he decided to ask the Caciques of Tlaxcala to give him ten thousand Indian warriors to join us on an expedition to Texcoco; which after Mexico is one of the largest cities in the whole of New Spain. He made them a good speech about it, and in reply to the requisition, Xicotenga the elder (who by that time had become a Christian and was called Don Lorenzo de Vargas as I have already stated), promptly said that he would give him with the utmost willingness not only ten thousand men but many more if he chose to take them, and that another valiant Cacique, our great friend Chichimecatecle would go as their captain. Cortés thanked him for this,

and after we had made our muster, (I do not well remember what was the strength of our force both of soldiers and the others,) on the day after the feast of the Nativity in the year 1520 we began our march in excellent order, as was ever our custom, and slept at a pueblo subject to Tlaxcala,[1] and the people of the town gave us what we needed. From there onward it was Mexican territory, and we went more cautiously, our artillery musketeers and crossbowmen arranged in careful order, and with four mounted scouts always [in advance], and four very active soldiers with swords and shields accompanying those horsemen, to look out for the bad places and see if they were practicable for horses, because on the road we had been warned that a dangerous pass on the Sierra had that day been blocked up by felling trees, for it was well known in Mexico and Texcoco that we were marching towards their city. That day we met no obstacles whatever and camped at the foot of the Sierra, a march of about three leagues. The night was very cold, but we got through it [safely] thanks to our patrols, sentinels, watchmen and scouts. When the dawn came we began to ascend a small pass and in some difficult places like barrancas the hillside had been cut away so that we could not pass, and many pine trees and other timber had been placed across the track, but having so many friendly Tlaxcalans with us, a clearing was soon made, and sending a company of musketeers and crossbowmen in advance we marched on with the utmost caution, our allies cutting and pushing aside trees to enable the horsemen to pass, until we got to the top

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[1] Cortés (3rd letter) gives the name of this town as Tesmoluca (San Martin Tesmelucan) and the name of the village on the west side of the range, where the army slept the night before entering Texcoco, as Coatepeque, which shows that the range was probably crossed by way of Rio Frio and near the volcano of Telapon.

of the Sierra. Then we descended a little and caught sight of the lake of Mexico and its great cities standing in the water, and when we saw it we gave great thanks to God for allowing us to see it again.

Then we remembered our late defeat, when we were driven out of Mexico, and we vowed, God willing, to adopt a different method of fighting until we could blockade the city. We descended the mountain to where we saw great smoke signals, which were being made by the people of Texcoco, as well as by their subject pueblos, and marching onward we came upon a large squadron of Mexican and Texcocan warriors who were waiting for us at a bad pass through a rocky thicket where there was an apparently broken down wooden bridge, and a deep gulch and waterfall below it. However, we soon defeated the squadron and passed in perfect safety. Then to hear the shouts that they gave from the farms and from the barrancas! however they did nothing else, and that only from places where the horsemen could not reach them. Our friends the Tlaxcalans carried off fowls and whatever else they could steal, and they did not abstain from this although Cortés had ordered them not to make war on the people if they were not attacked. The Tlaxcalans answered that if the people were well disposed and peaceable they would not come out on the road and attack us as they did at the passage of the barranca and bridge, where they tried to stop our advance.

Let me go back to my story and say how we went to sleep that night at a deserted pueblo subject to Texcoco[1] and we posted our watchmen, sentinels and scouts and sent out patrols, and took every precaution lest we should be attacked that night by the numerous squadrons of warriors who were waiting for us at another bad

[1] Coatepec.

pass, which we had heard about from five Mexicans whom we had captured at the first bridge of which I have spoken, who told us what the squadrons were doing. From what we afterwards learned they did not dare to attack us, nor even to await our coming, for it seems that there were disputes and factions between the Mexicans and Texcocans, who were not yet fully recovered from the small pox, which sickness had attacked them and spread throughout the land. Moreover as they knew that in the affairs of Guacachula and Izucar, and at Tepeaca Jalacingo and Castilblanco we had defeated all the Mexican garrisons, and by this had gained great renown, and as they believed that we were bringing all the forces of Tlaxcala and Huexotzingo with us they decided not to await our coming, and in all this the Lord Jesus Christ guided us.

As soon as dawn came we ranged ourselves in good order, the artillery as well as muskets and crossbows, and with our scouts ahead on the lookout, we began our march towards Texcoco, which was about two leagues distant from where we slept. However, we had not marched half a league when we saw our scouts returning at a breakneck pace and looking very cheerful, and they told Cortés that ten Indians were approaching unarmed and carrying golden devices and banners, and that yells and shouts no longer came from all the huts and farms they had passed on the road as had happened the day before.

To all appearance everything was peaceful and Cortés and all of us captains and soldiers rejoiced at it. Then Cortés ordered a halt until seven Indian Chieftains, natives of Texcoco, came up to us. They carried a golden banner, and a long lance, and before reaching us they lowered the banner and knelt down (which is a sign of peace), and when they came before Cortés

who had our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar standing by him, they said, "Malinche, our Lord and Chieftain of Texcoco, Coanacotzin,[1] sends to beg you to receive him into your friendship, and he is awaiting you peaceably in the City of Texcoco, and in proof thereof accept this banner of gold, and he begs as a favour that you will order your Tlaxcalans and your brethren not to do any harm to his land, and that you will come and lodge in the city where he will provide you with all that you need." Moreover they said that the troops which had been stationed in the ravines and bad passes did not belong to Texcoco, but were Mexicans sent by Guatemoc.

When Cortés heard these words of peace he rejoiced greatly and so did we all, and he embraced the messengers especially three of them who were relations of the good Montezuma and were known to all of us as having been his captains. When the message had been considered Cortés at once sent for the Tlaxcalan Captains and ordered them, in the most friendly way, not to do any damage nor to take anything whatever in this country because peace had been made, and they did as he told them, but he did not forbid their taking food if it were only maize and beans, or even fowls and dogs, of which there was an abundance, all the houses being full of them.

Then Cortés took counsel with his Captains and it seemed to them all that this begging for peace (in the way it was done), was a trick, for if it had been true it would not have been done so suddenly, and they would have brought food. Nevertheless, Cortés accepted the banner, which was worth about eighty pesos, and thanked the messengers and said to them, that he was not in the

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[1] Cocoyoaçin in the text.

habit of doing evil or damage to any vassals of His Majesty, on the contrary he would favour and protect them, and if they kept the peace which they had announced he would protect them against the Mexicans; that as they might have seen, he had already ordered the Tlaxcalans not to do any damage in their country, and they would avoid doing so for the future, that they well knew how in that city over forty Spaniards our brethren, and two hundred Tlaxcalans had been killed at the time when we were leaving Mexico, and many loads of gold and other spoil which belonged to them had been stolen, and that he must beg their chieftain Coanacotzin[1] and the other chiefs and captains of Texcoco to restore to us the gold and the cloths, but as to the death of the Spaniards, there was no remedy for it, he would therefore not ask them for any.

The messengers replied that they would report to their Lord as he ordered them to do, but that he who had ordered the Spaniards to be killed and who took all the spoil was a chieftain named Cuitlahuac[2] who had been chosen King of Mexico after Montezuma's death, and that they took to him in Mexico nearly all the Teules and they had been promptly sacrified to Huichilobos.

When Cortés heard that reply, he made no answer, lest he should lose his temper or threaten them, but he bade them Godspeed. One of the ambassadors remained in our company, and we went on to a suburb of Texcoco called Guatinchan or Guaxuntan,[3] I have forgotten the name, and there they gave us plenty to eat and all that we had need of, and we cast down some Idols that were in the houses where we lodged, and early the next day we went to the city of Texcoco. In none of the streets

[1] Cuacayutzin in the text.
[2] Coadlabaca in the text.
[3] Coatlinchan.

nor houses did we see any women, boys or children, only terrified looking men, more like men who were at war. We took up our quarters in some great rooms and halls, and Cortés at once summoned the captains and most of us soldiers and told us not to leave the precincts of the great courts, and to keep well on the alert until we could see how things were going, for it did not seem to him that the city was peaceful. He ordered Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and some other soldiers, and me among them, to ascend the great Cue which was very lofty and to take twenty musketeers with us as a guard, and to look from the lofty Cue over the City and the lake, for it could all be seen from there, and we saw that all the inhabitants of those towns were moving off with their goods and chattels, and women and children, some to the hills and others to the reed thickets in the lake, and that all the lake was thronged with canoes great and small.

As soon as Cortés knew this he wanted to capture the Lord of Texcoco who had sent him the golden banner, and when certain priests whom Cortés sent as messengers went to summon him, he had already placed himself in safety, for he was the very first to flee to Mexico with many other chieftains. We passed that night with great precautions in the matter of watchmen, patrols and scouts, and very early the next day Cortés ordered all the Indian chieftains who had remained in Texcoco to be summoned before him, for as it was a very large city there were many other chieftains of the parties opposing the Cacique who had fled, with whom there had been discussions and disputes about the command and Kingship of that city. When they came before Cortés he learned from them how and since when Coanacotzin had ruled over the city. They told him that Coanacotzin in his desire to seize the power

had infamously killed his elder brother Cuicuitzcatzin[1] with the assistance given him for that purpose by the Prince of Mexico, who as I have often said was called Cuitlahuac, the one that made war on us when we were fleeing after the death of Montezuma. Furthermore, there were among them other Lords who had a better right to the kingdom of Texcoco than he who now held it, and that it should go to a youth who at that time became a Christian with much religious pomp, and was named Don Hernando Cortés, for our Captain was his Godfather.[2] They said that this youth was the legitimate son of the Lord and King of Texcoco and that his father was named Nezahualpilli,[3] and presently without any further delay, and with the greatest festive celebration and rejoicing throughout Texcoco, they appointed him their natural Lord and King, with all the ceremonies which they were accustomed to render to their so-called Kings; and in perfect peace and with the love of all his vassals, and of the neighbouring towns, he governed absolutely and was obeyed. For his better instruction in the matters of our faith and to improve his manners, and so that he should learn our language, Cortés ordered that he should have as his tutors Antonio de Villa Real, who was the husband of a very beautiful lady named Ysabel de Ojeda, and a Bachelor of Arts named Escobar; and he appointed as Captain of Texcoco, (with instructions to see that Don Hernando had no dealings with

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[1] Cuxcuxca in the text. This was the youth who had been made Cacique of Texcoco on the recommendation of Cortés when Cacamatzin had been taken prisoner, see page 122, vol. ii.

[2] According to the Historian Ixtlilxochitl, on the flight of Coanacotzin, Cortés nominated Tecocoltzin, a son of Nezahualpilli, as ruler of Texcoco, but this Cacique lived only a few weeks, and on the nomination of Cortés he was succeeded by a youthful son of Nezahualpilli named Ahuaxpitzactzin, who received in baptism the name of Hernando Cortés.

[3] NeÇabalpinçintle in the text.

any of the Mexicans) a good soldier named Pedro Sánchez Farfan, who was the husband of that good and honourable woman Maria Destrada.

Let us leave off talking about the great services of this Cacique and say how greatly loved and how well obeyed he was by his people, and let me relate how Cortés asked for a large force of Indian labourers to broaden and deepen the canals and ditches through which we were to draw the launches to the lake, when they were finished and ready to sail. He also explained to Don Hernando himself and the other chieftains what was the reason and purpose in having the launches built, and how we were going to blockade Mexico. Don Hernando offered all the assistance within his power and that of his vassals, and not only in that which he was ordered to do, but he promised to send messengers to all the neighbouring pueblos and tell them to become vassals of His Majesty, and accept our friendship and authority against Mexico. All this was arranged, and we were all well lodged, each captain by himself, and the posts and positions were settled where we were to rally in case of a sudden attack by the Mexicans, for we were to guard the margin of their lake, because from time to time Guatemoc sent great pirogues and canoes full of warriors who came to see if they could catch us off our guard.

About that time certain pueblos subject to Texcoco came to ask for peace, and for pardon if they had erred in the late wars and been concerned in the death of any Spaniards. These pueblos were called Coatlinchan[1] and . . . . . Cortés spoke to them all very kindly and pardoned them.

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[1] Guatinchan in the text. A blank space is left in the original; the names omitted were probably Huexotla and Atenco (cf. Cortés's Third Letter).

I wish to say that not a day passed that there were not seven or eight thousand Indians at work on the ditch and canal and they opened and broadened it so well that ships of great size could have floated in it. As at that time we had over seven thousand Tlaxcalans in our company and they were anxious to gain honour and fight against the Mexicans, Cortés determined, that as we had such faithful comrades, we would make an expedition and have a look at a fine town named Iztapalapa, through which we had passed when we first came to Mexico. It was the Lord of Iztapalapa who had been raised to be King of Mexico on the death of the Great Montezuma, and I have often said that his name was Cuitlahuac.[1] We knew that this town was doing us all the harm that was possible because it was very hostile to Chalco and Tlamanalco, and Amecameca and Chimaloacan which pueblos wanted to make friends with us, and the people of Iztapalapa prevented them. As we had already been twelve days in Texcoco without doing anything to record, beyond what I have already related, we made this expedition to Iztapalapa, and what happened there I will now relate.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

How we went to Iztapalapa with Cortés who took Cristóbal de Olid and Pedro de Alvarado in his company and left Gonzalo de Sandoval to guard Texcoco, and what happened to us in the capture of the town, and other things that were done there.

AFTER spending twelve days in Texcoco the Tlaxcalans, whom I have repeatedly mentioned, had exhausted their provisions, and they were so numerous that the people of Texcoco were unable to furnish them with sufficient quan-

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

tities of food. As we were unwilling that they should become a burden to them [the people of Texcoco] and as the Tlaxcalans themselves were most desirous of fighting the Mexicans and avenging the death of the many Tlaxcalans who had been killed and offered as sacrifices during the past defeats that I have described, Cortés determined that we should set out on our march to Iztapalapa (which is distant about four leagues[1] from Texcoco,) with himself as Commander in Chief, and with Andrés de Tápia, Cristóbal de Olid, and thirteen horsemen, twenty crossbowmen, six musketeers and two hundred and twenty soldiers, and our Tlaxcalan allies, besides twenty chieftains from Texcoco given us by Don Hernando, (and we knew that these latter were the cousins and relations of this same Cacique and enemies of Guatemoc who had already been raised to be King in Mexico). I have already said before in the Chapter[2] [LXXXVII] which speaks of it, that more than half the houses [in Iztapalapa] were built in the water and the other half on dry land. We kept on our way in good order, as was our custom, and as the Mexicans always held watchmen and garrisons and warriors ready to oppose us and to reinforce any of their towns when they knew that we were going to attack them, they warned the people of Iztapalapa to be prepared, and sent over eight thousand Mexicans to help them. Like good warriors they awaited our coming on dry land, both the people of Iztapalapa and the Mexicans who had come to their assistance, and for a good while they fought very bravely against us. Then the horsemen broke through their ranks, followed by the crossbows and muskets, and all our Tlaxcalan allies who charged on them like mad dogs, and the enemy quickly abandoned the open ground and took refuge in

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[1] Really about 30 miles.

[2] There is a blank space in the original.

the town. However, this was an arranged thing and a stratagem that they had planned, and it would have caused us damage enough if we had not quickly got out of the town into which they had retired. This was the way they did it: they fled and got into their canoes which were in the water, and into the houses which stood in the lake, others retired among the reeds, and as it was a dark night, they gave us a chance, (without making a noise or showing signs of hostility) to take up quarters on dry land,[1] well contented with the spoil we had taken and still more with the victory we had gained. While we were in this situation, with watchmen posted, and spies, patrols and even scouts sent out, when we least expected it such a flood of water rushed through the whole town, that if the chieftains whom we had brought from Texcoco had not cried out, and warned us to get out of the houses to dry land as quickly as we could, we should all have been drowned, for the enemy had burst open the canals of fresh and salt water and torn down a causeway, so that the water rose up all of a sudden. As our allies the Tlaxcalans were not accustomed to water and did not know how to swim, two of them were drowned, and we, at great risk to our lives, all thoroughly drenched and with our powder spoilt, managed to get out without our belongings, and in that condition, very cold, and without any supper, we passed a bad night. Worst of all were the jeers and the shouts and whistles which the people of Iztapalapa and the Mexicans uttered from their houses and canoes. However, there was still a worse thing to happen to us, for as they knew in Mexico about the plan that had been made to drown us by breaking

[1] This is rather confusing; the Spaniards must have occupied houses built on land only a few inches above the level of the lake, and the term "dry land" must have been used to distinguish them from houses built on piles in the lake.

down the causeway and canals, we found waiting for us on land and in the lake many batalions of warriors, and, as soon as day dawned, they made such an attack on us that we could hardly bear up against it; but they did not defeat us, although they killed two soldiers and one horse, and wounded many both of us and the Tlaxcalans. Little by little the attack slackened and we returned to Texcoco, half ashamed at the trick and stratagem to throw us into the water, and also because we gained very little credit in the battle they fought against us afterwards, as our powder was exhausted. Nevertheless, it frightened them, and they had enough to do in burying and burning their dead, and curing their wounds and rebuilding their houses. There I will leave them, and relate how other pueblos came to Texcoco to make peace, and what else happened.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

How three pueblos in the neighbourhood of Texcoco sent to ask for peace and pardon for the wars that were passed, and for the death of Spaniards, and the excuses that they made about it, and how Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Chalco and Tlamanalco[1] to help them against the Mexicans, and what else happened.

WHEN we had been two days in Texcoco after our return from the expedition to Iztapalapa, three pueblos came peaceably to Cortès to beg pardon for the past wars and the deaths of Spaniards whom they had killed. The excuses they gave were that it was by the order of the Prince of Mexico, called Cuitlahuac[2] (who was chosen after the death of Montezuma) that they went out to fight

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[1] By an unfortunate oversight Tlamanalco is not marked in the Map of the Valley of Mexico; it is marked on the Map in Vol. I.

[2] Coadlavaca in the text.

in company with his other vassals, and that if they killed some Teules and captured and robbed others it was this same Prince who [had ordered it and] had commanded them to carry the Teules to Mexico, and they had done so, and taken the Teules to Mexico to be offered as sacrifices, and they had also taken there the gold and the horses and the cloths, and now they begged pardon for it, for the reason that no blame could attach to them, because they had been ordered and compelled by force to do it. These pueblos that came at this time were called Tepezcuco[1] and Otumba. The name of the other pueblo I do not remember, but I do remember that this town of Otumba was where they fought the celebrated battle against us when we were fleeing from Mexico, where we were opposed to the greatest armies of warriors that ever came against us in all New Spain, and where they thought that we could never escape alive, as I have related more fully in former chapters which treat of that subject. As those pueblos knew that they were guilty, and were aware that we had made an expedition against Iztapalapa, and that its inhabitants had been the worse for our coming (although they did try to drown us in the water and [aided by] many squadrons of Mexicans had borne the brunt of two pitched battles) in short, so as not to find themselves in similar troubles as those that had already happened, they came to sue for peace before we could go to their pueblos to punish them. As Cortés saw that there was nothing else to be done at the time, he pardoned them, but he gave them a severe reprimand, and they bound themselves by many promises always to be hostile to the Mexicans and to be the vassals of His Majesty, and to serve us, and so they did.

Let us stop talking about these pueblos, and say how

[1] Tepetexcoco?

about the same time the inhabitants of the pueblo named Mixquic,[1] which is also called Venezuela, which stands in the lake, came to beg for peace and friendship. These people had apparently never been on good terms with the Mexicans, and in their hearts they detested them. Cortés and all of us were greatly pleased at these people coming to seek our friendship, because their pueblo was in the lake, and through them we hoped to get at their neighbours who were likewise established on the water, so Cortés thanked them greatly and dismissed them with promises and gentle speeches. While this was taking place they came to tell Cortés that great squadrons of Mexicans were advancing on the four pueblos which had been the first to seek our friendship,[2] named Guatinchan or Guaxultan[3] and two other pueblos whose names I forget,[4] and they told Cortés that they did not dare to stay in their houses and that they wished to flee to the mountains or to come to Texcoco where we were, and they said so many things to Cortés to induce him to help them, that he promptly got ready twenty horsemen and two hundred soldiers, thirteen crossbowmen and ten musketeers and took with him Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid who was Maestre de Campo, and went to the pueblos which, as I have said, had sent to Cortés to make so many complaints, a distance from Texcoco of about two leagues. It appeared to be true that the Mexicans had sent to threaten them and warn them that they would be destroyed for accepting our friendship, but the point of dispute over which they uttered the worst threats concerned some large maize

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[1] Mezquique in the text.

[2] See Chapter CXXXVII.

[3] Coatlinchan.

[4] These towns were probably Huexotla, to the south of Texcoco, and Atengo to the N.W.

plantations lying near the lake which were ready for the harvest, whence the people of Texcoco were providing our camp. The Mexicans wanted to take the maize, for they said that it was theirs, for it had been the custom for those four pueblos to sow and harvest the maize plantations on that plain for the priests of the Mexican Idols. Over this question of the maize field many Indians had been killed, both on one side and the other. When Cortés understood about it, after telling the people not to have any fear, but to remain in their homes, he promised them that when the time came for them to go and gather maize, either for their own needs or to supply our camp, he would send a Captain and many horsemen and soldiers to protect those who went to fetch the maize. They were well pleased with what Cortés had said to them, and we returned to Texcoco. From that time forward, whenever we had need of maize in our camp, we mustered the Indian warriors from all those towns and with our Tlaxcalan allies and ten horsemen and a hundred soldiers with some musketeers and crossbowmen, we went after the maize. I say this because I went twice for it myself and on one occasion we had a capital skirmish with some powerful Mexican Squadrons which had come in more than a thousand canoes, and awaited us in the maize fields, and as we had our allies with us, although the Mexicans fought like brave men, we made them take to their canoes, but they killed one of our soldiers and wounded twelve, and they also wounded some Tlaxcalans, but the enemy had not much to brag about for fifteen or twenty of them were lying dead, and we carried off five of them as prisoners.

Let us leave this and say how next day we heard the news that the people of Chalco and Tlamanalco and their dependencies wished to make peace, but on

account of the Mexican garrisons stationed in their towns, they had no opportunity to do so, and that these Mexicans did much damage in their country and took their women, especially if they were handsome, and violated them before their fathers and mothers or husbands.

We had also heard that the timber for building the launches had been cut and prepared at Tlaxcala, and as the time was passing, and none of the timber had yet been brought to Texcoco, most of the soldiers were a good deal worried about it. Then, in addition to this, the people came from the pueblo of Venezuela which they call Mixquic[1] and from other friendly pueblos to tell Cortés that the Mexicans were coming to attack them because they had accepted our friendship. Moreover some of our friends the Tlaxcalans, who had already grabbed clothing and salt and gold and other spoil, wished to return home, but they did not dare to do so because the road was not safe. When Cortés found that to succour some of those towns that clamoured for help and to give assistance to the people of Chalco as well, which would enable them to come and accept our friendship, would make it impossible to give security to either one or the other (for in Texcoco itself we had to be keeping constant watch and to be very much on the alert) he decided to put aside all other matters and first of all to go to Chalco and Tlamanalco. For that purpose he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo with fifteen horsemen and two hundred soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen and our Tlaxcalan allies, with orders by all means to break up and disperse the Mexican garrisons and to drive them out of Chalco and Tlamanalco, and leave the road to Tlaxcala

[1] Mezquique in the text.

quite clear, so that one could come and go to Villa Rica without any molestation from the Mexican warriors. As soon as this was arranged he sent some Texcocan Indians very secretly to Chalco to advise the people about it, so that they might be fully prepared to fall on the Mexican garrison either by day or night. As they wished for nothing better, the people of Chalco kept thoroughly prepared.

When Gonzalo de Sandoval marched with his army he considered it advisable to leave a rearguard of five horsemen and as many crossbowmen with [to protect] the large number of the Tlaxcalans, who were laden with the spoil that they had seized. As the Mexicans always had watchmen and spies on the lookout, they knew that our people were marching on Chalco, and in addition to the garrison posted in Chalco, they had recently got together many squadrons of warriors, who fell on the rearguard where the Tlaxcalans were marching with their spoil, and punished them severely, and our five horsemen and the crossbowmen could not hold out against them, for two of the crossbowmen were killed and the others were wounded, and although Gonzalo de Sandoval promptly turned round on the enemy and defeated them, and killed ten Mexicans, the lake was so near by that the enemy managed to take refuge in the canoes in which they had come. All that country is thickly peopled with subjects of Mexico.

When the enemy had been put to flight and Sandoval saw that the five horsemen, whom he had left in the rearguard with the musketeers and crossbowmen, were wounded both they and their horses, and that two crossbowmen were dead and the others wounded, although [I repeat] he saw all this, he did not fail to say to the others whom he had left to defend the rear, that they were not worth much for not having been able to resist the enemy and defend

themselves and our allies, and that he was very angry with them; they were from among those who had lately come from Spain, and he told them that it was very clear that they did not know what fighting was like. Then he placed in safety all the Tlaxcalan Indians with their spoil, and he also despatched some letters which Cortés was sending to Villa Rica, in which Cortés told the Captain, who had remained in command there, all that had happened about our conquests, and about his intention to blockade Mexico, and that he [the Captain] should always take care to keep a good lookout, and if there were any soldiers who were disposed to take part in the fighting, that he should send them to Tlaxcala, but that they should not go beyond that town until the roads were safer, for they would run great risk.

When the messengers had been despatched and the Tlaxcalans sent off to their homes, Sandoval returned towards Chalco which was near by, marching with the utmost caution with his scouts out ahead, for he knew well that from any of the pueblos and hamlets by which he passed he might be suddenly attacked by the Mexicans. As he marched on towards Chalco he saw many squadrons of Mexicans coming against him, and on a level plain, where there were large plantations of maize and magueys (the plant from which they extract the wine that they drink), they attacked him fiercely with darts, arrows, and stones from slings, and with long lances with which to kill the horses. When Sandoval saw such a host of warriors opposed to him, he cheered on his men and twice broke through the ranks of the enemy, and with the aid of the muskets and crossbows, and the few allies who had stayed with him, he defeated them, although they wounded five soldiers and six horses, and many of our allies. However, he had fallen on them so quickly and with such fury that he made them pay well for the

damage they had first done. When the people of Chalco knew that Sandoval was near, they went out to receive him on the road with much honour and rejoicing. In that defeat eight Mexicans were taken prisoners, three of them chieftains of importance.

When all this had been done, Sandoval said that on the following day he wished to return to Texcoco, and the people of Chalco said they wanted to go with him to see and speak to Malinche and take with them the two sons of the Lord of that province who had died of small-pox a few days before, and before dying had charged all his chieftains and elders to take his sons to see the Captain, so that by his hand they might be installed Lords of Chalco, and that all should endeavour to become subjects of the Great King of the Teules, for it was quite true that his ancestors had told him that men with beards who came from the direction of the sunrise would govern these lands, and from what he had seen, we were those men.

Sandoval soon returned with all his army to Texcoco and took in his company the sons of the Lord of Chalco and the other chieftains, and the eight Mexican prisoners.

When Cortés knew of his arrival he was overjoyed, and when Sandoval had given an account of his journey, and how the Lords of Chalco had come with him, he went to his quarters. The Caciques presented themselves at once before Cortés, and, after having paid him every sign of respect, they told him of the willingness with which they would become vassals of His Majesty, as the father of these two youths had commanded them to do, [and begged] that they might receive the chieftainship from his hands. When they had made their speeches, they presented Cortés with rich jewels worth about two hundred pesos de oro. When Cortés thoroughly understood through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de

Aguilar what they had said, he showed them much kindness and embraced them, and under his hand gave the Lordship of Chalco to the elder brother with more than the half of the subject pueblos, and those of Tlamanalco and Chimal he gave to the younger brother together with Ayotzingo and other subject pueblos. After Cortés had given much advice to the principal elders and to the newly appointed Caciques, they told him that they desired to return to their country, and that in everything they would serve His Majesty and us in his Royal name against the Mexicans, such having always been their wish, but owing to the Mexican garrisons which had been stationed in their province, they could not come earlier to render their fealty. They also gave Cortés news of two Spaniards who had been sent to that province for maize, before we had been driven out of Mexico, whom (so that the Culuans should not kill them) they had one night placed in safety among our friends at Huexotzingo, so that their lives were saved. We already knew about this some time before, for one of these men was he who went to Tlaxcala.

Cortés thanked them very sincerely for this, and begged them to wait in Texcoco for two days, as he was about to send a Captain to Tlaxcala, for the timber and planking, who would take them in his company, and conduct them to their country, so that the Mexicans should not attack them on the road; for this they thanked him greatly and went away well contented.

Let us stop talking about this and say how Cortés decided to send to Mexico the eight prisoners, whom Sandoval had captured in the rout at Chalco, to tell the Prince named Guatemoc, whom the Mexicans had then chosen as king, how greatly he desired to avoid being the cause of his ruin and that of so great a city; they should therefore sue for peace, and he would pardon

them for the losses and deaths we had suffered from them in the city, and would ask nothing from them, and he [Guatemoc] should remember that it is easy to remedy a war in the beginning but very difficult towards the middle and at the end, and that finally they would be destroyed; that he [Cortés] knew all about the ditches and the warlike preparations, and the store of darts and arrows, lances, broadswords, round stones and slings and all other warlike material which they were continually making and preparing, but it was a mere waste of time and useless for them to do it, and how could he [Guatemoc] desire all his people to be slain and his city destroyed? He [Guatemoc] should bear in mind the great power of our Lord God in whom we believe and whom we worship, and who always helps us, and he should always remember that all the pueblos in the neighbourhood were now on our side, that the Tlaxcalans had no wish but for war, in order to avenge treachery to, and the deaths of their compatriots. Let them lay down their arms and make peace, and he [Cortés] would promise the Mexicans that he would always treat them with great honour. Doña Marina and Aguilar made use of many other sound arguments and gave them good advice on the subject. Those eight Indians went before Guatemoc, but he refused to send any answer whatever, and went on making dykes and gathering stores, and sending to all the provinces an order that if any of us could be captured straying, we should be brought to Mexico to be sacrificed, and that when he sent to summon them, they should come at once with their arms, and he sent to remit and free them from much of their tribute, and even made them great promises.

Let us cease talking about the preparations for war that they were making in Mexico, and say how again many Indians came from the pueblos of Guautinchon

or Guaxuntlan[1] who had been wounded by the Mexicans because they had accepted our friendship, and on account of the disputes over the maize fields, which they had been accustomed to sow for the Mexican priests during the time when they were their dependents, as I have already explained in the Chapter that treats of it. As they were situated close to the Lake of Mexico, every week the Mexicans came and attacked them and even carried off some of them prisoners to the city. When Cortés heard this, he determined to go again himself with a hundred soldiers and twenty horsemen and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen, and he had good spies on the lookout to see when the Mexican troops were coming, so that he might be promptly informed. As the distance from Texcoco was only one or two leagues, on one Wednesday morning he arrived at dawn where the Mexican squadrons were posted, and he fought them in such a manner that they were soon broken up and took refuge in their canoes on the lake. Four Mexicans were killed there and three others were taken prisoners, and Cortés returned with his people to Texcoco. From that time forward the Culuans did not attack those pueblos any more. Let us leave this subject and say how Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to Tlaxcala for the timber and planking for the launches, and what happened to him on the road.

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[1] Coatlinchan.

CHAPTER CXL.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Tlaxcala to fetch the timber for the launches, and what else he did on the road at a pueblo which we named the town of the Moors (el Pueblo Morisco).

As we were always longing to get the launches finished, and to begin the blocade of Mexico our Captain Cortés, so as not to waste time to no purpose, ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go for the timber, and to take with him two hundred soldiers, twenty musketeers and crossbowmen, fifteen horsemen and a large company of Tlaxcalans as well as twenty chieftains from Texcoco; also to take in his company the youths and the elders from Chalco and to place them in safety in their towns.

Before they set out Cortéz established a friendship between the Tlaxcalans and the people of Chalco. Formerly the people of Chalco used to belong to the party and the confederation of the Mexicans, and when the Mexicans went to war against Tlaxcala they took people from Chalco to aid them, as they lived in that neighbourhood, and from that time the Tlaxcalans bore them ill will and treated them as enemies; but, as I have said, here in Texcoco Cortés made them friends again, so that a great friendship continued between them, and from that time on they helped one another.

Cortés also ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval as soon as he had taken the people of Chalco to their homes, to go to a pueblo subject to Texcoco which was near by the road, to which we had given the name in our language of "El Pueblo Morisco" [the town of the Moors], because more than forty soldiers of the followers of Narvaez and some of our own men and many Tlaxcalans had been killed in that pueblo, and the people had also stolen three loads of gold, when we were turned out of Mexico

The soldiers whom they had killed were those who were on the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico when we were going to the assistance of Pedro de Alvarado. Cortés charged Sandoval not to leave that pueblo without punishing it well, although it was the people of Texcoco who really deserved the punishment for they were the aggressors, and it was their captains who did the damage, for at that time they were brothers in arms of the people of the great city of Mexico, but as nothing else could then be done, no punishment was meted out to Texcoco.

Let us go back to our story, which is that Gonzalo de Sandoval did what his Captain ordered him, both in going to the Province of Chalco which was not much out of the way, and leaving there the two youths who were its Lords, and in going to the Pueblo Morisco.

Before our soldiers arrived at this pueblo the people already knew through their spies that they were coming down on them and they abandoned the pueblo and fled to the hills, and Sandoval followed them and killed [only] three or four of them, for he felt pity for them, but they took some women and girls and captured four chieftains. Sandoval coaxed those four whom he had captured, and asked them how they came to kill so many Spaniards, and they replied that the people of Texcoco and Mexico killed them in an ambush which they had arranged on a hill where the road was so narrow that they could only pass one by one; that there a great company of Mexicans and Texcocans fell on them and killed them or took them prisoners, and the people of Texcoco carried them off to their city where they divided them with the Mexicans; that they had been ordered to do this and could not do otherwise than as they did, for it was in revenge for the Prince of Texcoco named Cacamatzin whom Cortés had taken prisoner and

who had been killed at the affair of the bridges. Much blood of the Spaniards who had been killed was found on the walls of the Temple in that pueblo, for they had sprinkled their Idols with it, and he also found two faces which had been flayed, and the skin tanned like skin for gloves, the beards were left on, and they had been placed as offerings upon one of the altars. There were also found four tanned skins of horses very well prepared, with the hair on and the horse shoes, and they were hung up before the Idols in the great Cue. There were also found many garments of the Spaniards who had been killed hung up as offerings to these same Idols, and on the pillar of a house where they had been imprisoned, there was found written with charcoal "Here was imprisoned the unfortunate Juan Yuste and many others whom I brought in my company." This Juan Yuste was a gentleman, and one of the horsemen whom they killed here, and was one of the persons of quality whom Narvaez had brought with him. Sandoval and all his soldiers were moved to pity by all this and it grieved them greatly, but, how could the matter now be remedied except by being merciful to the people of the pueblo, however they had fled and would not wait, and had taken their women and children with them. A few women who were captured wept for their husbands and fathers, and when Sandoval saw this, he liberated four chieftains whom he had captured and all the women and sent them to summon the inhabitants of the pueblo, who came and begged for pardon and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and promised always to oppose the Mexicans and to serve us well with all possible affection and good will. When they were asked about the gold they had stolen from the Tlaxcalans who passed that way, they replied that they had taken three loads of it from them, but the Mexicans and the lords of Texcoco had carried it off,

for they said that the gold had belonged to Montezuma, who when he was a prisoner had taken it from their temples and given it to Malinche.

Let us stop talking about this and relate how Sandoval went on his way towards Tlaxcala, and when near the capital where the Caciques reside, he met eight thousand men carrying on their backs all the timber and boards for the launches, and as many more men with their arms and plumes acting as a guard, and two thousand others who brought food and relieved the carriers. There came as commanders of the whole force of Tlaxcalans, Chichimecatecle, whom I have already mentioned in former chapters, where he was spoken of as a very valiant Indian Chieftain, and two other chieftains named Teuctepil and Ayotecatl[1] and other Caciques and chieftains, and all came in the charge of Martin López who was the Master carpenter who cut the timber and gave the model and dimensions for the boards, and other Spaniards came with him whose names I forget. When Sandoval saw them approaching in this way he was delighted that they had relieved him from his task, for he expected to be detained some days in Tlaxcala waiting for them to get off with all the timber and planking. In the same order in which they came up to us, we continued our march for two days until we entered Mexican territory. The Mexicans whistled and shouted from their farms and from the barrancas and from other places where we could do them no harm either with our horsemen or our muskets.

Then Martin López, who had all in his charge, said that it would be as well to change the order in which they had hitherto marched, for the Tlaxcalans had told him they feared that the powerful forces of Mexico might make a sudden attack in that part of the road, and might

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[1] Terlipile and Tyutical in the text.

defeat them, as they were so heavily laden and hampered by the timber and food they were carrying. So Sandoval at once divided the horsemen and musketeers and cross-bowmen, so that some should go in advance and others on the flanks, and he ordered Chichimacatecle to take charge of the Tlaxcalans who were to march behind as a rearguard with Gonzalo de Sandoval himself. The Cacique was offended at this, thinking that they did not consider him a brave man, but they said so much to him on that point, that he became reconciled, seeing that Sandoval himself was to remain with him, and that he was given to understand that the Mexicans always made their attacks on the baggage which was kept towards the rear. When he clearly understood this he embraced Sandoval and said that he felt honoured by what had been done.

Let us stop talking about this and say that another two days' march brought them to Texcoco, and before entering the city they put on very fine cloaks and plumes, and marched in good order to the sound of drums and trumpets, and in an unbroken line they were half a day marching into the City, shouting, whistling and crying out "Viva, Viva for the Emperor our Lord and Castille! Castille and Tlaxcala! Tlaxcala!"

When they arrived at Texcoco, Cortés and some of his Captains went out to meet them, and Cortés made great promises to Chichimecatecle and all his Captains who were with him. All the timbers and planking and all the other things belonging to the launches were placed near the canals and creeks were the launches were to be built.

From that time forward the greatest despatch was used in building the thirteen launches. Martin López, was the Master builder, aided by other Spaniards named Andrés Nuñez, and an old man called Ramírez, who was lame from a wound, and Diego Hernández, a sawyer, and

certain Indian carpenters and two blacksmiths with their forges, and Hernando de Aguilar who helped with the hammer; and all worked with the greatest speed until the launches were put together, and they only needed to be caulked, and their masts, rigging and sails to be set up. When this was done, I want to say how great were the precautions that we took in our camp, in the matter of spies and scouts and guards for the launches, for they lay near the Lake, and three times the Mexicans tried to set them on fire, and we even captured fifteen of the Indians who had come to set fire to them, and from these men Cortés learned fully what was being done in Mexico and what Guatemoc was planning, and it was that they would never make peace but would either all die fighting, or kill every one of us.

I wish now to mention the summonses and messengers that the Mexicans sent to all their subject pueblos, and how they remitted their tribute, and the work that they carried on both by day and night, of digging ditches and deepening the passages beneath the bridges, and making strong entrenchments and preparing their darts and dart throwers and making very long lances with which to kill the horses, to which were attached the swords that they had captured from us on the night of our defeat, and getting in order their darts and dart throwers and round stones and slings, and two-handed swords and other weapons larger than swords like broadswords, and every sort of warlike material.

Let us leave this subject and go back to speak of the canal and trench by which the launches were to go out into the great Lake, and it was already very broad and deep so that ships of considerable size were able to float in it, for, as I have already said, there were eight thousand Indians always employed on the work. Enough of this, and let me say how Cortés made an expedition to Saltocan.

BOOK XI.

PRELIMINARY EXPEDITIONS.

CHAPTER CXLI.

How our Captain Cortés went on an expedition to the pueblo of Saltocan which stands in a lake about six leagues distant from the City of Mexico, and how he went from there to other pueblos, and what happened on the road I will go on to say.

AS over fifteen thousand Tlaxcalans had come to Texcoco with the timber for the launches, and had already been five days in the city without doing anything worth mentioning, and, as they had not brought supplies with them, food was getting scarce, and the Captain of the Tlaxcalans being a very valiant and proud man (I have already said his name was Chichimecatecle), said to Cortés that he wished to go and render some service to our great Emperor by fighting against the Mexicans, both to show his strength and the goodwill he bore us, as well as to avenge the deaths and robberies that the Mexicans had brought upon his brethren and his vassals, in Mexico itself and in his own country, and he begged as a favour from Cortés that he would command and instruct him in what direction he should go and encounter our enemies.

Cortés replied to him that he thought very highly of his good-will, and said that he wished to go himself, the next day, to a pueblo named Saltocan, five or six leagues distant from the City of Texcoco, where, although the houses were built in the waters of a lake, there was an entrance from the land. He had sent three times to summon the people of that pueblo to make peace and they refused to do so, and he had again sent messengers from the people of Tepetescuco[1] and Otumba who were their neighbours, and instead of making peace they ill-treated the messengers and wounded two of them, and the answer that they sent was, that if we came there we would find forces and a fortress as strong as Mexico, and come when we might, we would find them on the field of battle, for they had received word from their Idols that they would kill us there, and their Idols had advised them to send this reply.

It was for this reason that Cortés got ready to go in person on this expedition, and ordered two hundred and fifty soldiers to go in his company with thirty horsemen, and he took with him, Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and many musketeers and crossbowmen, and all the Tlaxcalans, and a company of warriors from Texcoco, nearly all of them chieftains. He left Gonzalo de Sandoval on guard at Texcoco, and told him to keep a good look out both on the Texcocans, and the launches and the camp, and see that no attack was made on it by night for, as I have already said, we had always to keep on the alert, on the one hand to guard against the Mexicans themselves and on the other, because we were in such a great city, as was Texcoco, where all the inhabitants of the city were relations and friends of the Mexicans. He also ordered Sandoval

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[1] Tepetexcoco?

and Martin López, the master carpenter of the launches, to have the vessels ready to be launched and to sail within fifteen days.

Then after hearing Mass, Cortés left Texcoco and set out on that expedition with his army; and as he marched along, not far from Saltocan, he met great squadrons of Mexicans who were awaiting him in a place where they believed that they could get the better of our Spaniards and kill the horses. Cortés ordered the horsemen (and he himself kept with them) as soon as the muskets and crossbows had been discharged, to break in upon the enemy; however, they killed only a few Mexicans, who at once took refuge in the bush, and in places where the horsemen could not follow them, but our friends the Tlaxcalans captured and killed about thirty of them.

That night Cortés went to sleep at some huts, and kept a good look-out with scouts, watchmen, patrols and spies, for they were in a thickly peopled country, and he knew that Guatemoc the Prince of Mexico had sent many squadrons of warriors to Saltocan as reinforcements, and these troops had come in canoes along some deep creeks. Early the next morning the Mexicans and the people of Saltocan began to attack our troops when they were close to the pueblo, and they shot many darts and arrows at them and slung stones from their slings, from the canals where they were posted, and they wounded ten of our soldiers and many of our Tlaxcalan allies, and our horsemen could do them no hurt, for they could not gallop nor cross the creeks which were all full of water. The causeway and road by which they were used to enter the town from the land had been destroyed and broken down by hand only a few days before, and they had so flooded it that it was as full of water as the ditches. Owing to this,

our soldiers found no way by which they could enter the town, or do any damage to its defenders, although the musketeers and crossbowmen kept up a fire against those who went about in canoes, but the canoes were protected by bulwarks of wood, and besides the bulwarks they took good care not to expose themselves. Our soldiers seeing that they could gain no advantage whatever, and that they could not hit on the road and causeway which was there before, because it was all covered with water, cursed the town and our profitless expedition, and were half ashamed because the Mexicans and townspeople shouted at them and called them women, and said that Malinche was a woman too, and that his only bravery was in deceiving them with stories and lies. Just at this moment, two of the Indians, who had come there with our people, who belonged to the pueblo Tepetezcuco and were very hostile to the people of Saltocan, said to one of our soldiers, that three days before they had seen the people of Saltocan breaking open the causeway and they made a ditch [across] it and turned the water of another canal into it, and that not very far ahead the road began again and led to the town. When our soldiers thoroughly understood this, the musketeers and crossbowmen were ranged in good order, some loading while the others fired, and thus, little by little and not altogether, sometimes skipping along and at other times wading waist deep, all our soldiers crossed over, with many of our allies following them. Cortés and the horsemen, turning their backs on our soldiers, kept guard on the land, for they feared that the Mexican squadrons might again fall on our rear. When our men had passed the canals, as I have described, the enemy fell on them with fury, and wounded many of them, but as they had made up their minds to gain the causeway which was close by, they still

forged ahead until they could attack the enemy on land, clear of the water, and then they got to the town. Without further waste of words they fell on the enemy so fiercely that they killed many of them and repaid them well for the trick they had played. Much cotton cloth and gold and other spoil was taken, but, as the town was built in the lake, the Mexicans and the inhabitants soon got into their canoes with all the property they were able to carry, and went off to Mexico.

When our people saw the town deserted, they burned some of the houses, and as they did not dare to sleep there because the town stood in the water, they returned to where Captain Cortés was awaiting them. In that town they captured some very good-looking Indian women, and the Tlaxcalans came out of it rich with cloaks and salt and gold and other spoil. Then they all went to sleep at some huts near some limekilns, about a league distant from Saltocan, and there they dressed their wounds. One soldier died within a few days of an arrow wound in the throat. Sentinels were at once posted, and scouts sent out and every precaution was taken, for all that country was thickly peopled by Culuans.

The next day they marched to the great pueblo named Guautitlan, and as they went on their way, the Indians from the neighbouring villages, and many Mexicans who had joined them, yelled and whistled and shouted insults at our men, but they kept to the canals and the places where the horsemen could not gallop and no harm could be done to them. In this way, our troops arrived at the town which had been abandoned that same day and all property carried off. That night they slept there, well guarded by sentinels and patrols, and the following day marched on to the great pueblo called Tenayuca; this is the place that on our first entrance to Mexico we

called El Pueblo de las Sierpes, because in the principal temple we found the images of two great hideous-looking serpents which were the Idols they worshipped. Let us leave this and go back to this matter of the march. They found this pueblo deserted like the last, and all the Indian inhabitants had assembled together in another town further on called Tacuba. From Tenayuca they marched to Atzcapotzalco,[1] about half a league distant one from the other, and this too was deserted. This town of Atzcapotzalco was where they used to work the gold and silver for the great Montezuma, and we used to call it El pueblo de los Plateros. From there they marched to another town, which I have said was called Tacuba, a distance of half a league one from the other, and this is the place where we halted on that sad night when we came out from Mexico routed, and here they killed some of our soldiers, as I have already said in a former chapter that deals with this subject.

Let us go back to our story: Before our army could reach the town it was met in the open by a large number of troops which were lying in wait for Cortés, gathered from all the pueblos through which the army had passed, as well as those from Tacuba and Mexico, for Mexico was close by. All of them together began an attack on our people in such a manner that our Captain and the horsemen had all they could do to break through their ranks, so close did they keep together. However, our soldiers with good sword play forced them to retreat; then, as it was night-time, they went to sleep in the town after posting sentinels and watchmen.

If there had been many Mexicans gathered together that day, there were many more on the next morning, and in excellent order they advanced to attack our

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[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

people with such energy that they killed and wounded some of our soldiers. Nevertheless, our men forced them to retreat to their houses and fortress, so that they found time to enter Tacuba and burn and sack many of the houses. When this was known in Mexico, many more squadrons were ordered to go forth from the city to fight against Cortés, and it was arranged that when they fought with him, they should pretend to turn in flight towards Mexico, and little by little they should draw our army on to the causeway until they had them well on to it, and that they should behave as though they were retreating out of fear.

As it was arranged, so they carried it out, and Cortés believing that he was gaining a victory, ordered the enemy to be followed as far as a bridge. When the Mexicans thought that they had already got Cortés in their trap, and the bridge had been crossed, a huge multitude of Indians turned on him, some in canoes and others by land, and others on the azoteas, and they placed him in such straits and matters looked so serious that he believed himself to be defeated, for at the bridge that he had reached, they fell on him with such force that he could effect little or nothing. A standard bearer who carried a banner, in resisting the charge of the enemy, was badly wounded and fell with his banner from the bridge into the water, and was in danger of being drowned, and the Mexicans had even seized him to drag him into a canoe, but he was so strong that he escaped with his banner. In that fight they killed four or five of our soldiers and wounded many of them, and Cortés recognising the great audacity and want of forethought that he had shown in going on to the causeway in the way I have related, and feeling that the Mexicans had caught him in a trap, ordered all his followers to retire in the best order possible without turning their backs, but with

their faces towards the enemy and hand to hand as though resisting an onset. Of the musketeers and crossbowmen some loaded, while the others fired, and the horsemen made some charges, but they were very few, for the horses were soon wounded. In this way, Cortés escaped that time from the power of the Mexicans, and when he got on dry land he gave great thanks to God.

It was at that causeway and bridge that Pedro de Ircio (often mentioned by me before) said to the standard bearer named Juan Volante, who fell into the lake with his banner, to insult him (for he was not on good terms with him on account of a love affair with a woman who had come at the time of the Narvaez expedition), "that he had drowned the son and now he wished to drown the mother," for the banner that Volante was carrying bore the picture of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria. He had no reason for making that remark, for the standard bearer was a gentleman and a very valiant man, as he showed himself to be then and at many other times, and it did not go well with Pedro de Ircio for the ill-will he bore towards Juan Volante.

Let us leave Pedro de Ircio, and say that during the five days that Cortés stayed in Tacuba, he had encounters and battles with the Mexicans, and he then returned to Texcoco along the road by which he had come. On the road, the Mexicans raised shouts, believing that he was turning in flight, and they only suspected what was true; and they laid in wait for him in places where they thought to gain honour by attacking him and killing the horses; and they prepared ambushes, and when Cortés saw that, he too set an ambuscade and wounded many of the enemy, but they managed to kill two horses, and after that they did not follow him any further.

By long marches, Cortés arrived at a pueblo subject to Texcoco, named Acolman, about two leagues and a half

distant from Texcoco, and as soon as we knew that he had arrived there we went out with Gonzalo de Sandoval to see him and receive him, accompanied by many horsemen and soldiers and the Caciques of Texcoco, especially by Don Hernando, the principal Cacique of that City. We were greatly delighted at the sight of Cortés, for we had known nothing of what had happened to him for fifteen days. After welcoming him, and having some necessary conversation on military matters, we returned to Texcoco that afternoon, for we did not dare to leave the camp without a sufficient guard. Our Cortés stayed in that pueblo until the following day, when he came to Texcoco, and we gave him another reception. The Tlaxcalans, as they were now rich and came laden with spoil, asked leave to return to their homes, and Cortés granted it, and they went by a road where the Mexicans could not spy on them and saved their property.

At the end of four days, during which our Captain was resting, and hurrying on the building of the launches, the people from some pueblos on the North Coast came to ask for peace and offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty and these pueblos were named Tuxpan and Matalcingo and Nautla[1] and other small pueblos in the neighbourhood, and they brought a present of gold and of cotton cloth. They came before Cortés with the greatest reverence and when they had offered their present, they begged him to graciously admit them to his friendship, as they wished to become vassals of the King of Castile. They said that when the Mexicans had killed six Teules in the affair at Almeria, the Mexican Captain was Quetzalpopoca whom we had already burned in punishment, and that all the pueblos which had now come to him went to the help of

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[1] Tuçapan y MasCalzingo y Navtlan in the text. Matalcingo is not shown on the modern map, but on an old map is marked near C. de Palmas in the neighbourhood of Tuxpan.

the Teules. When Cortés heard this, although he knew that they had been concerned with the Mexicans in the death of Juan de Escalante and the six soldiers who were slain in the affair at Almeria (as I have already related in the Chapter that treats of the matter) he showed them much good-will and accepted the present, and received them as vassals of our Lord the Emperor, and he did not demand an explanation of what had happened, nor call it to mind, for it was not a convenient time to take other steps, and with kind words and promises he dismissed them. At this same time, there came to Cortés other pueblos from among those who had become our friends, asking for help against the Mexicans, and they said that we must come and help them because great squadrons of Mexicans were coming against them and had entered their territory and were carrying off many of their Indians as prisoners, and had wounded others. There also came at the same time, people from Chalco and Tlamanalco who said that if we did not come to their assistance they would all be lost, for many garrisons of their enemies had attacked them, and they told a most pitiful tale, and brought a piece of hennequen cloth, painted with an exact representation of the squadrons of Mexicans which had come against them. Cortés did not know what to say, nor how to answer them or help them, either one way or the other, for he had seen that many of our soldiers were wounded and ill, and eight had died of pains in the back, and from throwing up clotted blood mixed with mud from the mouth and nose, and it was from the fatigue of always wearing armour on our backs, and from the everlasting going on expeditions and from the dust that we swallowed. In addition to this, he saw that three or four horses had died of their wounds, and that we never stopped going on expeditions, some coming and others going. So the answer he gave to the first pueblos

was to flatter them, and to say that he would soon come to help them, but that while he was on the way, they should get help from other pueblos, their neighbours, and should wait for the Mexicans in the open, and all of them together should attack the enemy, and that if the Mexicans should see that they showed a bold front and matched their strength against them, they would be afraid, for the Mexicans had no longer the forces with which to attack them that they used to have, as they had so many enemies to oppose. He said so much to them, through our interpreters, that he encouraged and put heart into them, and they at once asked for letters for two pueblos in their neighbourhood, which were allies of ours, ordering them to come to their assistance. They did not understand the letters at the time, but they knew well that among us it was a sure thing that when letters were sent they contained commands or signs that we were ordering something of importance. With these letters they went off well contented and showed them to their friends and summoned them to their assistance. As Cortés had ordered them, they awaited the Mexicans in the open and fought a battle with them, and with the help of our allies, their neighbours to whom they had delivered the letters, they did not do badly.

Let us return to the people of Chalco; as our Cortés saw how important it was for us that this province and the road through it should be freed from Mexicans, (for as I have already said, it was the way we had to come and go to Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and to Tlaxcala, and we had to supply our camp from that province, for it was a land that produced much Maize), he at once ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval the Chief Alguazil to get ready to start the next morning for Chalco, and he ordered him to take twenty horsemen and two hundred soldiers, twelve crossbowmen and ten musketeers and the Tlaxcalans who

were in camp, who were very few, (for as I have already said in this Chapter, the greater number of them had gone to their homes laden with spoil) and Sandoval, also took with him a company of Texcocans, and Captain Luis Marin who was his intimate friend. Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid remained behind to guard the city and the launches.

Before Gonzalo de Sandoval goes to Chalco, as had been arranged, I wish to say here, that while I was writing this story about all that had happened to Cortés in his expedition to Saltocan, there happened to be present two gentlemen who were much interested, as they had read Gomara's History, and they said to me, that there were three things that I had forgotten to write down, which the historian Gomara had written about this same expedition of Cortés; the one was that Cortés visited Mexico with thirteen launches and fought a good battle with the great forces of Guatemoc in their great canoes and pirogues on the lake; the other was that when Cortés entered on the causeway to Mexico, that he held conversations with the Mexican Lords and Caciques, and told them that he would cut off their food supply and they would die of hunger; and the other was that Cortés did not wish to tell the people of Texcoco that he was going to Saltocan lest they should give warning to the people of that town. I answered these same gentlemen that at that time the launches were not finished building, and how could they carry launches overland, or horses or so many people across the lake? It is laughable to write about such a thing. When Cortés advanced along the causeway, as I have related, he had quite enough to do to make his escape with his army, and at that time we had not blockaded Mexico so as to deprive them of food, and they were not suffering from hunger, and they were lords of all their vassals, and what happened many days later when we had

them in our grip, Gomara places here. In what he says, that Cortés went away by another road to go to Saltocan so that the people of Texcoco should not know, I say that they were obliged to go through the pueblos and lands of Texcoco, for the road lay in that direction and in no other, and what he writes is mere nonsense. As I understand it the fault is not his, but that of the man who gave him the information and who told him the story which he has written down, possibly giving him money in order to heighten the praise and glorify him and exaggerate his exploits. He was told these stories so that he should not publish our heroic deeds and that is the truth.

When these two gentlemen who had told me about it saw clearly that what I said was true, they swore that they would tear up the book and history of Gomara which they had in their possession, for so many things he describes as happening in a certain way, are not true.

Let us leave this matter and turn to Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval who left Texcoco after hearing Mass, and arrived near Chalco early in the morning, and what happened I will go on to tell.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTERS CXLII TO CXLV.

DURING the expeditions described in the four following Chapters, the Spaniards passed out of the Valley of Mexico through the gap between the Serrania of Ajusco and the slopes of Popocatapetl, and descended into the plains of Morelos and Cuernavaca. The towns of Yecapixtla, Oaxtepec, Yautepec, and Cuernavaca all stand at somewhat the same altitude, about 5000 ft. above the level of the sea and a little more than 2000 ft. below the level of the Valley of Mexico. The Serrania of Ajusco, with its innumerable extinct craters and somewhat recent lava fields, and the mass of Popocatapetl, form a lofty barrier to the north of these towns, which is edged near Tepostlan and towards the East by a fringe of broken

and abrupt conglomerate rock, forming hills and cliffs, with spurs running southward into the plains of Morelos and Cuernavaca. Just to the south of this rampart, several isolated hills of a few hundred feet in height arise somewhat abruptly from the plain, and it was on one of these hills that the Indians took refuge.

Ixtlilxochitl[1] says that Tlayacapan, which lies halfway between Yecapixtla and Teposlan, is the hill or Peñol which was so successfully defended against the attack of the Spaniards, and there is no doubt that the Peñol must have been in that neighbourhood.

Neither Bernal Díaz nor Cortés appear to have visited Yecapixtla, and their descriptions of its position are somewhat misleading. The town is not situated on a lofty eminence, but, like Cuernavaca, although on slightly rising ground, it hardly stands out from the surrounding plain. These plains slope gradually to the south, and are deeply scored by the numerous small streams which, flowing from the mountains to the north, have cut their way deep down through soil and rock, forming ravines or barrancas, which, in chosen spots, render fortifications almost unnecessary. Both Yecapixtla and Cuernavaca are nearly surrounded by such ravines.

Bernal Díaz falls into an error, with regard to Yautepec, when describing the route followed by the army; this error is corrected in a foot-note on page 67. Cortés, in his third letter, says that after leaving Yautepec they went to Gilutepeque. No such name is now known, and we can safely follow Bernal Díaz, who says that the town was Tepostlan (although Orozco y Berra says that Bernal Díaz "confounds" the name with that of Tepostlan). From the nature of the ground, the pursuit by the horsemen after leaving Yautepec must have been in the direction of Tepostlan, and that position also fits in with the march two days later to Cuernavaca.

The return march from Cuernavaca across the Serrania de Ajusco was a most laborious undertaking, as a height of at least 10,000 ft. above sea level had to be reached before descending to the valley in the direction of Xochimilco.

By an unfortunate error, Tlamanalco is not marked in the map of the Valley of Mexico, issued in Vol. III. Its position between Chalco and Amecameca is given in the map showing the route of the Spaniards from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, issued with Vol. I.

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[1] "Historia Chichimeca," Cap. 93. MS., see Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Antigua*, vol. iv, p. 541.

CHAPTER CXLII.

How Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval went to Chalco and Tlamanalco with the whole of his army; and I will go on to tell what happened on the march.

I HAVE already said in the last Chapter that the pueblos of Chalco and Tlamanalco came to ask Cortés to send them help, because there were great companies and squadrons of Mexicans in their neighbourhood who had come to attack them. They told such a tale of woe that he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go to their aid with two hundred soldiers, twenty horsemen, ten or twelve cross-bowmen and some musketeers, and our Tlaxcalan friends, and a company of Indians from Texcoco. Sandoval took Captain Luis Marin with him as a companion, for they were great friends.

After hearing Mass, he set out on the 12th March in the year 1521, and they slept at some farms belonging to Chalco, and on the next morning arrived at Tlamanalco where the Caciques and Captains gave him a good reception and provided food, and advised him to go at once in the direction of a great pueblo called Oaxtepec,[1] for he would find the whole of the Mexican forces either assembled at Oaxtepec or on the road thither; and they said that all the warriors from the province of Chalco would accompany him.

Sandoval thought it advisable to set out at once, so the order was given, and they went on to sleep at another pueblo subject to Chalco called Chimaluacan, for the spies, sent by the people of Chalco to watch the Culuas, came to report that the enemy's forces were lying in wait for them in some rocky defiles in the neighbourhood of that town.

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[1] Guaxtepeque in the text.

As Sandoval was very crafty and well advised, he sent the musketeers and crossbowmen in advance, and ordered the horsemen to keep together in parties of three, and, when the crossbowmen and musketeers had fired their shots, to charge the enemy at a hand gallop with their lances held short, so as to strike the faces of their enemies and put them to flight, and always to keep together in parties of three. He ordered the foot soldiers always to keep their close formation and not to charge the enemy until he gave the order, for it was reported that the enemy were very numerous, and this proved to be true. As the enemy was posted in broken ground and it was not known if they had dug pits or raised barricades, Sandoval wished to keep his soldiers well in hand so as to avoid any disaster.

As he continued his march he saw the Mexican squadrons approaching him in three divisions, shouting and whistling and sounding trumpets and drums. The Indians were armed with all their usual weapons and they came on to the attack like fierce lions. When Sandoval saw how bold they were, he did not keep to the orders he had given, but told the horsemen to charge them at once before they could reach our men. Cheering on his troops by shouting "Santiago and at them," Sandoval led the charge himself, and by that movement, he nearly routed some of the Mexican squadrons, but not all of them, so that they soon turned and showed a firm front, for they were helped by the bad track and broken ground, and the horsemen owing to the rough ground were not able to gallop and could not get in rear of them. For this reason, Sandoval turned, and ordered the musketeers and crossbowmen to go ahead in good formation and told the shield bearers to keep on their flanks, and when they could see that they were wounding and damaging the enemy and should hear a shot fired from this other side of the barranca, that it would be a signal for all the horsemen to charge together and hurl

the enemy from that position, for he thought that they could be driven on to the level ground near by. He also warned his [Indian] allies to be ready to support the Spaniards. Sandoval's orders were carried out, and in that movement many of our men were wounded, for the enemies who attacked them were very numerous. To finish my story, the Mexicans were forced into retreat but their flight was towards other bad passes. Sandoval and the horsemen went in pursuit, but overtook only three or four of the enemy. During that pursuit, owing to the badness of the road, the horse of a cavalryman, named Gonzalo Domínguez, fell with his rider beneath him, and the man died from his injuries within a few days. I call this to mind because Gonzalo Domínguez was one of the best horsemen and one of the most valiant men that Cortés had brought in his Company, and we held him in as much esteem for his valour, as we did Cristóbal de Olid and Gonzalo de Sandoval, so that we all felt the loss greatly.

To go back to Sandoval and his army; they followed the enemy to the neighbourhood of a pueblo already mentioned by me which is called Oaxtepec, but before reaching the town, over fifteen thousand Mexicans emerged from it and began to surround our soldiers and wounded many of them and five horses, but as the ground was level in some places, our horsemen, making a united effort, broke up two of their squadrons, and the rest turned tail and fled towards the town in order to guard some barricades which they had raised, but our soldiers and the allies followed so close that they had no time to defend them, and the horsemen kept up the pursuit in other directions until they had shut the enemy up in a part of the town where they could not be reached. Thinking that the enemy would not again renew the attack on that day, Sandoval ordered his men to rest and tend their wounds, and they began to take their

food, and much spoil was taken in that town. While they were eating, two horsemen and two soldiers who had been told off before the men began to eat, the horsemen as scouts and the soldiers as sentinels, ran in crying "To arms, to arms; the Mexicans are coming in great force." As they were always accustomed to have their arms in readiness, the horsemen were soon mounted and they came out into a great plaza. At that moment the enemy were upon them, and there they fought another good battle. After the enemy had been for some time showing us a good front from some barricades and wounding some of our men, Sandoval fell on them so suddenly with his horsemen, that with the help of the muskets and crossbows and the sword-play of the soldiers, he drove them from the town into some neighbouring barrancas, and they did not come back again that day.

When Captain Sandoval found himself free from that struggle, he gave thanks to God and went to rest and sleep in an orchard within the town, which was so beautiful and contained such fine buildings that it was the best worth beholding of anything we had seen in New Spain.[1] There were so many things in it to look at that it was really wonderful and was certainly the orchard of a great prince, and they could not go all through it then, for it was more than a quarter of a league in length.

Let us stop talking about the orchard and say that I

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "both on account of the arrangement and diversity of the many kinds of fruit trees and of the roses and other sweet-scented plants, and for the arrangement made for the supply of water from a river which was led into the garden, and the rich chambers and the decoration of them, and the sweet-scented cedar wood and the excellent furniture, and the - - - benches, and the numerous houses, all coated with plaster and adorned with a thousand pictures, and the avenues and the weaving together of the branches, and in other parts the medicinal herbs and the vegetables, many of them very good to eat."

did not go myself on this expedition, nor did I then walk about this orchard, but I went there about twenty days later when, in company with Cortés, we made the round of the great towns of the lakes, as I shall tell later on. The reason why I did not go this first time was because I had been badly wounded by a spear-thrust in the throat, and was in danger of dying from it, and I still bear the scar. The wound was given me during the Iztapalapa affair, when they tried to drown us. As I was not in this expedition, for this reason, I say in telling the story, "they went" and "they did" so and so, and such a thing "happened to them," and I do not say, "we did" it or "I did" it, nor saw it, nor "I was there." Nevertheless, all that I have written about it, happened as I have stated, for one soon learns in camp what happens on an expedition, and one is not able to leave out or exaggerate anything that happened.

Let us stop talking of this and return to Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, who on the following day, when he noticed that there was no sound of movement on the part of the Mexican warriors, sent to summon the Caciques of the town, despatching as messengers, five Indians, natives of the place, whom he had captured in battle, two of whom were chieftains. He ordered them to tell the Caciques to have no fear, and to come and make peace and he would pardon them for all that had happened, and used other good arguments. The messengers who were sent, treated for peace, but the Caciques did not dare to come in for fear of the Mexicans.

The same day, Sandoval sent to another large pueblo called Yecapixtla,[1] about two leagues distant from Oaxtepec, to tell the people to consider what a good thing it was to be at peace and not desire war and that they

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[1] Acapistla in the text.

should bear in mind and take warning from what had happened to the squadrons of Culuas stationed in the pueblo of Oaxtepec, how they had all been defeated, and he told them that they had better make peace and expel the Mexican garrisons who were guarding their country, and that if they did not do so he would come and make war on them and chastise them. The answer returned was that they [the Spaniards] might come when they liked, for they were looking forward to feast on their flesh and provide sacrifices for their Idols.

When this reply was given, the Caciques from Chalco, who were with Sandoval, knew that there must be a large force of Mexicans in garrison at Yecapixtla ready to make war on Chalco as soon as Sandoval should retire; and for this reason they begged him to go to Yecapixtla and drive the Mexicans out of the place. However, Sandoval was not willing to go, one reason being that many of his soldiers and horses were wounded, and the other that he had already fought three battles and he did not wish to exceed the instructions that Cortés had given him. Moreover, some of the gentlemen whom he had brought in his company, men from the army of Narvaez, advised him to return to Texcoco and not go to Yecapixtla, which was strongly fortified, lest some disaster should befall him. However, the Captain, Luis Marin, counselled him not to fail to go to that fortress and do what he could, for the Caciques from Chalco said that if he turned back without defeating the force which was assembled in that fortress, that as soon as they saw or heard that he had returned to Texcoco, the enemy would at once attack Chalco.

As it was only two leagues from Oaxtepec to Yecapixtla, Sandoval decided to go there and gave orders to his soldiers and they set out. As soon as he came in sight of the town, before reaching it, a host of warriors came out and began to shoot darts and arrows and cast stones

from their slings, so that they fell like hail, and three horses and many soldiers were wounded without our men being able to do any harm to the enemy. Then the enemy climbed up among their craigs and strongholds and from thence shouted, yelled and whistled and sounded their trumpets and drums. When Sandoval heard this, he ordered some of his horsemen to dismount, and the rest to remain in the fields where it was open ground and to keep on the alert to see that no reinforcement of Mexicans should reach Yecapixtla whilst he was attacking the town. When he observed that the Caciques from Chalco and their Captains and many of the Indian warriors were manœuvring round about without daring to attack the enemy, on purpose to try them and to see what they would answer, Sandoval said to them, "What are you doing: why don't you begin to fight and get into the town and fortress, for we are here and will defend you." They replied that they did not dare to do it, that the enemy were in a stronghold, and it was for this very purpose that Sandoval and his brother Teules had come with them and that the people of Chalco had come under his protection relying on his help to drive the enemy out.

So Sandoval and all his soldiers and musketeers and crossbowmen began the attack and ascent and many were wounded as they clambered up and Sandoval himself was again wounded in the head, and many of our allies were wounded, for they too entered the town and did much damage to it, and it was the Indians from Chalco and our allies from Tlaxcala who did most damage to the enemy, for our soldiers after breaking up their ranks and putting them to flight, would not give a sword-thrust at the enemy, for it seemed to them mere cruelty, and they were chiefly occupied in looking out for pretty Indian women or seeking for plunder, and they frequently quarrelled with our allies on account of their cruelty, and took the Indian

men and women away from them to prevent their being killed.

Let us stop talking about this and say that the Indian warriors in order to defend themselves, took refuge among the crags down below, which were near the town, and as many of those who went to hide themselves in the gorge of the river were wounded and bleeding, the water became somewhat turbid with blood but the discolouration did not last long, not half an Ave Maria, but it is here that the historian Gomara says in his history that our soldiers were parched with thirst because the river ran red with blood. I say that there are so many springs and so much clear water below there, that there was no need of more water.[1]

I must go on to say that when this was over, Sandoval and all his army returned to Texcoco with much spoil, especially of good looking Indian women.

When the lord of Mexico, who was called Guatemoc, heard of the defeat of his armies it is said that he showed much resentment at it, and still more at the thought that the people of Chalco, who were his subjects and vassals, should dare to take up arms three times against his forces.

He was so angry that he resolved that as soon as Sandoval should return to his camp at Texcoco he would send out a great force of warriors, which he at once assembled in the city of Mexico, and another force which was got together from the lake, equipped with every sort

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[1] Bernal Díaz need not have fallen foul of Gomara over this incident, although it was probably a gross exaggeration, for Cortés himself in his 3rd letter to the Emperor says "and as our Indian Allies pursued them, and the enemy saw that they were conquered, so great was the slaughter at the hands of our people, and of those thrown down from above, that all who were there present affirm that a small river which almost surrounds the town was tinged with blood for more than an hour and prevented them from drinking, and as it was very hot, they were in great need of water."

of arms, and would despatch this force, numbering over twenty thousand Mexicans, in two thousand large canoes to make a sudden descent on Chalco, to do all the damage that it was possible to do.

This was all accomplished with such skill and rapidity that Sandoval had hardly arrived at Texcoco and spoken to Cortés, when again messengers came in canoes across the lake begging help from Cortés, telling him that more than two thousand canoes carrying over twenty thousand Mexicans had come to Chalco, and they begged him to come at once to their assistance.

At the very moment that Cortés heard this news Sandoval came to speak to him and to give him an account of what he had done during the expedition from which he had just then returned, but Cortés was so angry with him he would not listen to him, believing that it was through some fault or carelessness on his part that our friends at Chalco were experiencing this trouble, and without any delay, and without listening to him, Cortés ordered Sandoval to leave all his wounded men in camp and to go back again in all haste with those who were sound.

Sandoval was much distressed at the words Cortés used to him, and at his refusal to listen to him, but he set out at once for Chalco where his men arrived tired out with the weight of their arms and their long march. It appears that the people of Chalco, learning through their spies that the Mexicans were coming so suddenly upon them, and that Guatemoc had determined that they should be attacked, as I have already said, before any help could reach them from us, had sent to summon aid from the people of the province of Huexotzingo which was near by, and the men from Huexotzingo arrived that same night, all equipped with their arms, and joined with those from Chalco, so that in all there were more than twenty thousand of them. As they had already lost their fear

of the Mexicans they quietly awaited their arrival in camp and fought like brave men, and although the Mexicans killed many of them and took many prisoners, the people of Chalco killed many more of the Mexicans and took as prisoners fifteen captains and chieftains and many other warriors of lesser rank. The Mexicans looked upon this battle as a much greater disgrace, seeing that the people of Chalco had defeated them, than if they had been defeated by us.

When Sandoval arrived at Chalco and found that there was nothing for him to do, and nothing more to be feared as the Mexicans would not return again to Chalco, he marched back again to Texcoco and took the Mexican prisoners with him.

Whereat Cortés was delighted but Sandoval showed great resentment towards our captain for what had happened, and did not go to see or speak to him, until Cortés sent to tell him that he had misunderstood the affair, thinking that it was through some carelessness on the part of Sandoval that things had gone wrong, and that although he had set out with a large force of soldiers and horsemen he had returned without defeating the Mexicans.

I will cease speaking about this matter, for Cortés and Sandoval soon became fast friends again and there was nothing Cortés would not do to please Sandoval.

I will stop here and tell how we resolved that all the men and women slaves should be branded, for they were becoming very numerous, and how at that time a ship arrived from Spain, and what else happened.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

How the slaves were branded in Texcoco, and how the news came that a ship had arrived at the Port of Villa Rica, and what passengers had come in her and other things that happened, which I will go on to relate.

As Gonzalo de Sandoval had arrived in Texcoco with a great booty of slaves and there were many others which had been captured in the late expeditions, it was decided that they should at once be branded. When proclamation was made that they were to be taken to a certain house to be branded, most of us soldiers took those slaves that we possessed to be marked with the brand of His Majesty, which was a G. which was meant to signify Guerra (war), in the way that we had already arranged with Cortés, as I have already related in the Chapter that treats of that subject. We thought that they [our slaves] would be returned to us after the Royal fifth had been paid, and that a price would be put on the women slaves in accordance with the value of each one of them. However it was not so done, and if the affair was badly managed at Tepeaca, it was managed much worse here at Texcoco; for after the Royal fifth had been deducted, another fifth was deducted for Cortés, and another fraction for his captains, and during the night when the slaves had been collected together, the best looking Indian women disappeared. Cortés had stated and promised us that the best looking women should be sold by auction for what they were worth, and those that were not so attractive for a lower price, but he made no such arrangement, and the Royal officials did just as they pleased, so that if wrong was done the first time, this time it was much worse. From this time on many of us soldiers when we captured good looking Indian women, so that they should not be taken

from us, as had been done in the past, hid them away and did not take them to be branded, but gave out that they had escaped; or if we were favourites of Cortés we took them secretly by night to be branded, and they were valued at their worth, the Royal fifth paid and they were marked with the iron. Many others remained in our lodgings and we said that they were free servants from the pueblos that had made peace, or from Tlaxcala.

I also wish to say that as some of these women slaves had already been in our company for two or three months, it was well known throughout the camp which of the soldiers was kind and which brutal, and who treated his Indian women and servants well and who treated them badly, and who had the reputation of being a gentleman and who was otherwise. It often happened that when they were sold by auction and were bought by soldiers whom the Indian men and women were not content to serve, or by men who had treated them badly, the slaves at once disappeared and were not seen again. As for asking for them one might as well seek for Mahomet in Granada, or write to "my son the batchelor of Arts in Salamanca." In the end it all figured as debt in the books of the King, both the accounts of the auction and the fifths, and as for paying assessment on the gold, it came to the point that not one or very few soldiers brought their share of gold [to be assessed] for they already owed it all and much more than what the King's officials would leave to them.

Let us leave this, and I will relate how at that time a ship arrived from Spain in which came Julian de Alderete, a native of Tordesillas, as his Majesty's Treasurer, and a certain Orduña, the elder, also a native of Tordesillas who after Mexico was conquered became a settler at Puebla and brought out some daughters who made very honourable marriages. There also came a friar of San Francis named Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, a native of Seville who

brought some Bulls of Señor San Pedro[1] so that we might put ourselves right if we had fallen somewhat in his debt during the wars which we were waging. Thus in a few months the friar returned to Spain rich and contented and left others discontented behind him ; then he sent as his deputy to take charge of the Bulls Gerónimo López who was afterwards secretary in Mexico. There also arrived one Antonio de Carvajal who, now a very old man, lives in Mexico, he was captain of a launch, and Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, a native of Burgos, who after the capture of Mexico became son-in-law of Orduña, he also was captain of a launch, and a certain Briones a native of Salamanca. This Briones was hanged in this province of Guatemala as a mutineer in the army, four years after he returned from the expedition to Honduras. Many others also arrived whose names I forget, also a certain Alonzo Díaz de la Reguera who became a settler in Guatemala and now lives in Valladolid.

A great store of arms and powder was brought in this ship, in fact as was to be expected in a ship coming from Spain it came well laden, and we rejoiced at its arrival and at the news from Spain that it brought. I don't remember very well, but I think that they told us that the Bishop of Burgos had already lost [his position] and did not stand well with his Majesty since he had come to know of our many good and memorable services. As the Bishop was in the habit of writing to his Majesty in Flanders the opposite to what really took place, and in favour of Diego Velásquez, when his Majesty found out for certain that all our procurators had told him on our behalf was quite true, he would not listen to anything more that the Bishop had to say.

Let us leave this and say that Cortés now saw that

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[1] *I.e.* of the Pope as successor to St. Peter.

the building of the launches was finished, and noted the eagerness of all of us soldiers to commence the siege of Mexico. At that time the people of Chalco sent again to say that the Mexicans were attacking them, and begged for help, and Cortés sent to tell them that he intended to go himself to their pueblos and territories and not to return until the enemy was finally driven from their neighbourhood. He ordered three hundred soldiers and thirty horsemen and nearly all the musketeers and crossbowmen and the men of Texcoco to be in readiness, and Pedro de Alvarado, and Andrés de Tápia and Cristóbal de Olid went in his company as well as the Treasurer Julian de Alderete and the Friar Fray Pedro Melgarejo who by that time had arrived in our camp. I too went with Cortés for he ordered me to do so, and what happened during that expedition I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

How our Captain Cortés went on an expedition and made a circuit of the lake and of all the cities and large pueblos that were to be found in its neighbourhood, and what else happened on that expedition.

As Cortés had told the people of Chalco that he was coming to help them so that the Mexicans should no longer come and attack them, (for we had been going there and back every week to assist them) he ordered all the force of soldiers already mentioned to be prepared, and they were three hundred soldiers, thirty horsemen, twenty crossbowmen and fifteen musketeers, and the Treasurer Julian Alderete, Pedro de Alvarado, Andrés de Tápia, Cristóbal de Olid, and the Friar Pedro Melgarejo went also, and Cortés ordered me to go with him, and there were many Tlaxcalans and allies from Texcoco in

his company. He left Gonzalo de Sandoval behind with a good company of soldiers and horsemen to guard Texcoco and the launches.

On the morning of Friday the 5th April 1521 after hearing Mass we set out for Tlamanalco, where we were well received, and we slept there. The next day we went to Chalco, for the one town is quite close to the other, and there Cortés ordered all the Caciques of the province to be called together, and he made them a speech through our interpreters Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar, in which he gave them to understand that we were now going to try whether we could bring to peace some of the towns in the neighbourhood of the lake, and also to view the land and position before blockading Mexico, and that we were going to place thirteen launches on the lake, and we begged them to be ready to accompany us on the next day with all their warriors. When they understood this all with one voice promised that they would willingly do what we asked.

The next day we went to sleep at another pueblo, subject to Chalco, called Chimaluacan, and there we met more than twenty thousand allies from Chalco, Texcoco, and Huexotzingo and from Tlaxcala and other towns, and in all the expeditions in which I have been engaged in New Spain, never have I known so many of our allied warriors to accompany us as joined us now.

As I have already said before, many of them came in hope of gathering spoil, and it is also true that they came to gorge on human flesh, if there should be any fighting, for they knew for certain that we should have to fight battles. It was the same, so to say, as when in Italy an army marches from one place to another it is followed by crows and kites and other birds of prey which live on the dead bodies that are left in the field after a bloody battle, so I believe it was for the same reason that we were followed by so many thousand Indians.

Let us leave this subject and return to our story. About that time we received news, that in a plain near by, there were many companies and squadrons of Mexicans and all their allies from the country round about waiting to attack us. So Cortés held us in readiness and after hearing Mass we set out early in the morning from the pueblo of Chimaluacan where we had slept, and keeping in good formation and much on the alert, we marched among some high rocks between two hills where there were fortifications and barricades, where many Indians both men and women were safely sheltered, and from these strongholds they yelled and shouted at us, but we did not care to attack them, but kept quietly on our way towards a large pueblo called Yautepec, which we found deserted, and passed by without stopping,[1] and arrived at a plain where there were some springs with very little water, and on one side was a high rocky hill[2] with a fortress very difficult to subdue, as the attempt soon proved, and when we arrived in the neighbourhood of this hill, we saw that it was crowded with warriors, and from the summit they shouted at us and threw stones and shot darts and arrows, and wounded three of our soldiers. Then Cortés ordered us to halt there, and said "it seems that all these Mexicans who shut themselves up in fortresses make mock of us as long as we do not attack them," and he said this thinking of those whom we had left behind among the foot hills, and he ordered some horsemen and crossbowmen to go round to the other side of the hill and see if there was any other place where we could ascend and find a more convenient

[1] This is misleading; they were on their way to Yautepec, but it was not until two days later that they passed by that town without stopping. The two peñoles where the fighting took place must have been situated between Chimal and Oaxtepec (cf. Cortés Third Letter).

[2] Probably Tlayacapan (see Orozco y Berra, Vol. IV, p. 541, and Itlilxochltl, Historia Chichimeca Cap. 93).

opening whence to attack them. They returned to say that the best approach was where we then were, for there was no other place where it was possible to climb up, for it was all steep rock. Then Cortés ordered us to make an attack, The standard bearer Cristóbal del Corral led the way with other ensigns and all of us followed him while Cortés and the horsemen kept guard on the plain, so that no other troops of Mexicans should fall on the baggage or on us during our attack on the stronghold. As we began to climb up the hill, the Indians who were posted above rolled down so many huge stones and rocks that it was terrifying to see them hurtling and bounding down, and it was a miracle that we were not all of us killed. One soldier fell dead at my feet, he was one Martínez, a Valencian who had been Maestrasala to a Señor de Salva, in Castile ; he had a helmet on his head but he gave no cry and never spoke another word. Still we kept on, but as the great *Galgas*, as we call these big rocks in this country, came rolling and tearing and bounding down and breaking in pieces, they soon killed two more good soldiers, Gaspar Sánchez, nephew of the Treasurer of Cuba, and a man named Bravo, but still we kept on. Then another valiant soldier named Alonzo Rodríguez was killed, and two others were wounded in the head, and nearly all the rest was wounded in the legs, and still we persevered and pushed on ahead.

As I was active in those days, I kept on following the Standard bearer Corral, and we got beneath some hollows and cavities which there were in the hillside so as to avoid a chance rock hitting me and I clambered up from hollow to hollow to escape being killed. The standard bearer Cristóbal del Corral was sheltering himself behind some thick trees covered with thorns which grow in these hollows, his face was streaming with blood

and his banner was broken, and he called out, "Oh Señor Bernal Díaz del Castillo, it is impossible to go on any further, keep in the shelter of the hollow and take care that none of those galgas or boulders strike you, for one can hardly hold on with one's hands and feet, much less climb any higher." Just then I saw that Pedro Barba, a captain of the crossbowmen, and two other soldiers were coming up in the same way that Corral and I had done, climbing from hollow to hollow. I called out from above, "Señor Capitan, don't come up any further, for you can't hold on with hands and feet, but will roll down again." When I said this to him he replied as though he were very valiant, or some great lord and could make no other reply, "Go ahead." I took that reply as a personal insult, and answered him, "let us see you come to where I am," and I went up still higher. At that very moment such a lot of great stones came rolling down on us from above where they had stored them for the purpose, that Pedro Barba was wounded and one soldier killed, and they could not climb a single step higher.

Then the Standard bearer Corral cried out that they should pass the word to Cortés, from mouth to mouth, that we could not get any higher, and that to retreat was equally dangerous.

When Cortés heard this he understood what was happening, for there below where he stood on the level ground two or three soldiers had been killed and seven of them wounded by the great impetus of the boulders which they hurled down on them, and Cortés thought for certain that nearly all of us who had made the ascent must have been killed or badly wounded, for from where he stood he could not see the folds in the hill. So by signs and shouts and by the shots that they fired, we up above knew that they were meant as signals for us to

retreat, and in good order we descended from hollow to hollow, our bodies bruised and streaming with blood, the banners rent, and eight men dead. When Cortés saw us he gave thanks to God and they related to him what had happened between Pedro Barba and me. Pedro Barba himself and the Standard Bearer Corral were telling him about the great strength of the hill and that it was a marvel that the boulders did not carry us away as they flew down, and the story was soon known throughout the camp.

Let us leave these empty tales and say how there were many companies of Mexicans lying in wait in places where we could neither see nor observe them, hoping to bring help and succour to those posted on the hill, for they well knew that we should not be able to force our way into the stronghold, and they had arranged that while we were fighting, the warriors on the hill on one side, and they on the other, would make an attack on us, and as it had been arranged so they came to the assistance of those on the hill. When Cortés knew that they were approaching, he ordered the horsemen and all of us to go and attack them, and this we did, for the ground was level in places as there were fields lying between the small hills, and we pursued the enemy until they reached another very strong hill.

We killed very few Indians during the pursuit for they took refuge in places where we could not reach them. So we returned to the stronghold which we had attempted to scale, and seeing that there was no water there, and that neither we nor the horses had had anything to drink that day, for the springs which I have spoken about as being there contained nothing but mud, because the many allies whom we had brought with us crowded into them and would not let them flow. For this reason orders were given to shift our camp, and we went down

through some fields to another hill which was distant from the first about a league and a half, thinking that we should find water there, but we found very little of it. Near this hill were some native mulberry trees and there we camped, and there were some twelve or thirteen houses at the foot of the stronghold. As soon as we arrived the Indians began to shout and shoot darts and arrows and roll down boulders from above.

There were many more people in this fortress than there were in the first hill, and it was much stronger, as we afterwards found out.

Our musketeers and crossbowmen fired up at them but they were so high up and protected by so many barricades that we could not do them any harm, besides there was no possibility of climbing up and forcing our way in. Although we made two attempts, from the houses that stood there, over some steps by which we could mount up for two stages, beyond that, as I have already said, it was worse than the first hill, so that we did not increase our reputation at this stronghold any more than at the first, and the victory lay with the Mexicans and their allies.

That night we slept in the mulberry grove and were half dead with thirst. It was arranged that on the next day all the musketeers and crossbowmen should go to another hill which was close by the large one, and should climb up it, for there was a way up although it was not an easy one, to see if from that hill their muskets and crossbows would carry as far as the stronghold on the other, so that they could attack it. Cortés ordered Francisco Verdugo and the Treasurer Juan de Alderete who boasted that they were good crossbowmen, and Pedro Barba who was a Captain, to go as leaders, and all the rest of the soldiers to attack from the steps and tracks of [above] the houses which I have already spoken of, and to climb up as best we could. So we began the ascent, but they

hurled down so many stones both great and small that many of the soldiers were wounded, and in addition to this it was quite useless to attempt the ascent, for even using both our hands and feet we could climb no further. While we were making these attempts the musketeers and crossbowmen from the other hill of which I have spoken, managed to reach the enemy with their muskets and crossbows but they could only just do it, however they killed some and wounded others. In this way we went on attacking them for about half an hour when it pleased our Lord God that they agreed to make peace. The reason why they did so was that they had not got a drop of water, and there was a great number of people on the level ground on the hill top and the people from all the neighbourhood round had taken refuge there both men, women and children and slaves. So that we down below should understand that they wished for peace, the women on the hill waved their shawls and clapped the palms of their hands together as a sign that they would make bread or tortillas for us and the warriors ceased shooting arrows and darts and hurling down stones.

When Cortés observed this he ordered that no more harm should be done to them, and by signs he made them understand that five of their chiefs should come down to treat for peace. When they came down with much reverence they asked Cortés to pardon them for having protected and defended themselves by taking refuge in that stronghold. Cortés replied somewhat angrily through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar that they deserved death for having begun the war, but as they had come to make peace, they must go at once to the other hill and summon the Caciques and chiefs who were stationed there and bring in the dead bodies, and that if they came in peace he would pardon what had happened, if not, that we should attack them and besiege them until

they died of thirst, for we knew well that there [too] they had no water, for there is very little in all that part of the country. So they went off at once to summon the Caciques as they were told to do.

I will stop talking about this until they come back with the reply and will relate that Cortés was standing talking to the Friar Melgarejo and the Treasurer Alderete about the wars that we had already waged before they came, which were just as bad as the attack on the hill, and of the great power of the Mexicans and about the great cities that we had seen since leaving Spain, and was saying that if our Lord the Emperor was told the truth, (instead of the Bishop of Burgos writing to him the reverse) that he would send and give us great rewards, for no other king in the world had had such services done for him as we had performed in winning so many cities for him without his knowing anything whatever about it.

Let us leave out much more conversation that took place and relate how Cortés sent the Standard bearer Corral, and two other captains namely Juan Jaramillo and Pedro de Ircio and me, who happened to be there with them, to ascend the hill and see what the stronghold was like, whether there were many Indians wounded or killed by the arrows and muskets and how many people were gathered there.

When he gave us these orders he said, "Look to it, Sirs, that you do not take from them a single grain of maize, and as I understood it he meant that we should help ourselves, and it was for that reason that he sent us and told me to go with the others. We ascended the hill by a track, and I must say that it was stronger than the first hill for it was sheer rock, and when we reached the top the entrance into the stronghold was no wider than the two mouths of a silo or an oven. At

the very top it was level ground and there was a great breadth of meadow land all crowded with people, both warriors and many women and children, and we found twenty dead men and many wounded, and they had not a drop of water to drink. All their clothes and other property was done up in bundles and there were many bales of cloaks which were the tribute they paid to Guatemoc, and when I saw so many loads of cloths and knew that it was intended for tribute I began to load four Tlaxcalans, my free servants whom I had brought with me, and I also put four other bales on the backs of four other Indians who were guarding the tribute, one bale on each man's back. When Pedro de Ircio saw this he said that [the bales] should not be taken, and I contended that they should, but as he was a Captain, I did as he ordered, for he threatened to tell Cortés about it. Pedro de Ircio said to me that I had heard what Cortés had said, that we should not take a single grain of maize, and I replied that was true, and that it was on account of those very words I wished to carry off these robes. However, he would not let me carry off anything at all, and we went down to tell Cortés what we had seen concerning the things on which he had sent us to report. Then Pedro de Ircio told Cortés about the contention that I had had with him which pleased Cortés greatly, after giving an account of what there was there, Pedro de Ircio said, "I took nothing from them although Bernal Díaz del Castillo had already laden eight Indians with cloth and would have brought them away loaded had I not stopped him." Then Cortés replied, half angrily "Why did he not bring them, you ought to have stayed there with the cloth and the Indians" and he added "See how they understand me, I sent them to help themselves, and from Bernal Díaz who did understand me, they took away the spoil which he was taking from those dogs who

will sit there laughing at us in the company of those whom we have killed and wounded."

When Pedro de Ircio heard this he wished to go up to the stronghold again, but he was told that there was no reason for his going, and that on no account should he return there.

Let us leave this talk and say that the people from the other hill came in, and, after much discussion about their being pardoned for their past deeds, all gave their fealty to His Majesty. As there was no water in that place we went at once to a fine pueblo already mentioned by me in the last chapter called Oaxtepec, where is the garden which I have said is the best that I have ever seen in all my life, and so said the Treasurer Alderete and the monk Fray Pedro Melgarejo and our Cortés. When they saw it and walked about in it they admired it greatly and said that they had never seen a better garden in Spain. I must add that we all found quarters in the garden that night. The Caciques of the town came to speak and offer their services to Cortés, for Gonzalo de Sandoval had already brought them to peace when he entered the town, as I have written fully in the chapter which treats of that event. That night we slept there and the next morning very early we left for Cuernavaca[1] and we met some squadrons of Mexicans who had come out from that town and the horsemen pursued them more than a league and a half until they took refuge in another large pueblo called Tepostlan where the inhabitants were so completely off their guard that we fell upon them before their spies whom they had sent to watch us could reach them.

Here we found some very good-looking Indian women and much spoil, but none of the Mexicans nor any of the

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text (Mex. Cuauhnahuac). In this instance the name is given in mistake for Yautepec. (Cf. Cortés's Third Letter.)

inhabitants waited for us in the town, so Cortés sent three or four times to summon the Caciques to come and make peace, and said that if they did not come he would burn the town and go in search of them. They replied that they did not mean to come, therefore, so as to strike fear into the other pueblos, Cortés ordered half the houses round about to be set on fire. At that very moment the Caciques from the pueblo that we had passed that day which I have said is called Yautepec came and gave their fealty to His Majesty. The next day we took the road for a much better and larger town named Coadlabaca (at the present time we usually alter the spelling and call it Cuernavaca), and it was garrisoned by many warriors both Mexican and Native, and was very strong on account of the Barrancas more than eight fathoms deep, with running water at the bottom, but the volume of water is small. However, they made the place into a stronghold and there was no way of entering for horses except by two bridges which had already been broken down. This protection was sufficient to prevent our forcing an entrance so we fought with them from across the stream and ravine, and they shot many arrows and lances at us and hurled stones from their slings, so that they fell thicker than hail. While this was happening Cortés was informed that about half a league further on there was a place where horses could pass, and he at once set off with all the horsemen while all of us remained looking for some way to get across, and we saw that by means of some trees which stood near the edge one could get over to the other side of that deep ravine, and although three soldiers fell from the trees into the water below, and one of them broke his leg, nevertheless we did cross over although the danger was great. As for me I will say truly that when I was crossing and saw how bad and dangerous the passage was, I turned quite giddy, still I got across, I and others of our soldiers and

View from
Leonina

inhabitants waited for us in the town, so Cortés sent three or four times to summon the Caciques to come and make peace and said that if they did not come he would burn the town and go in search of them. They replied that they did not mean to come, therefore, so as to strike fear into the other pueblos, Cortés ordered half the houses round about to be set on fire. At that very instant the Caciques from the pueblo that we had passed that day which I have said is called Yautepec came and gave their fealty to His Majesty. The next day we took the road for a much better and larger town named Coadlabaca (at [illegible] Mexican and Native, and was very strong on account of [illegible] water at the bottom, but the volume of water is small. However, they made the place into a stronghold and there was no way of entering for having cut down bridges which had already been broken down. This protection was sufficient to prevent our having an entrance so we fought with them from across the stream and ravine, and they shot many arrows and lances at us and hurled stones [illegible] of us remained looking for some way to get across, and we saw that by means of some trees which stood near the [illegible] ravine, and although three soldiers fell from the trees into [illegible] less we did cross over although the danger was great. As for me I will say truly that when I was crossing and saw [illegible]

Photo by C. Kinsey

Smith Edwards Engraving Co.

A View from Cuernavaca
Looking E.N.E.

many Tlaxcalans, and we fell on the rear of the Mexicans who were shooting stones and darts and arrows at our people, and when they saw us they could not believe it, and thought that we were more numerous than we were. At that moment Cristóbal de Olid and Andrés de Tápia and other horsemen who at great risk had crossed by a broken bridge, arrived on the scene and we fell on the enemy so that they turned their backs and fled into the thickets about the deep ravine where we could not reach them. Soon afterwards Cortés himself arrived with the rest of the horsemen.

In this town we took great spoil both of large bales of cloth as well as good-looking women. Cortés ordered us to remain there that day and we all found quarters in the beautiful garden of the chief of the town.

Although I feel bound to speak many times in the course of this story about the great precautions of sentinels, spies and scouts which were taken wherever we were, whether encamped or on the march, it would be tedious to repeat it too often, and for this reason I will go on and say that our scouts came to tell Cortés that twenty Indians were approaching, and that from their movements and appearance they seemed to be Caciques and chieftains who were bringing messages or coming to seek for peace. They proved to be the Caciques of the town, and when they arrived where Cortés was standing they paid him great respect and presented him with some gold jewels and asked him to pardon them for not meeting him peacefully, but they said the Lord of Mexico commanded them to stay in their stronghold and thence to make war on us, and had sent a large force of Mexicans to aid them, but from what they had now seen, there was no place, however strong it might be, that we would not attack and dominate, and they begged him [Cortés] to have mercy and make peace with them. Cortés received

them graciously, and told them that we were the vassals of a great Prince, the Emperor Don Carlos, who was good to all those who wished to serve him and that in his Royal Name he would receive them in peace, and they then gave their fealty to His Majesty. I remember that those Caciques said that our gods had warned their gods that their persons and property and towns would be chastized. We must leave them there and relate how very early on the next day we set out for another great town named Xochimilco and what happened on the road and in the city, and the attacks that were made on us I will go on to tell about, up to our return to Texcoco.

CHAPTER CXLV.

About the great thirst that we endured on the march and the great danger that we were in at Xochimilco from the many battles and skirmishes which we fought against the Mexicans and the natives of that city, and the many other warlike encounters which we went through before returning to Texcoco.

So we set out towards Xochimilco, which is a great city where nearly all the houses are built in a fresh water lake, distant about two and a half leagues from Mexico. We marched with great circumspection and in close order as it was always our custom to do, and we passed through some pine forests, but there was no water whatever along the road. As we carried our arms on our backs and it was already late and the sun was very hot we suffered much from thirst, but we did not know if there was any water ahead of us, for we had marched two or three leagues and we were still uncertain how far off was the pool which we had been told was on the road. When Cortés saw that the whole of the army was tired out and our allies the Tlaxcalans were dispirited, and one of them

had died of thirst, and I believe one of our soldiers who was old and ailing also died of thirst, he ordered a halt to be made in the shade of some pine trees and sent six horsemen ahead on the road to Xochimilco to see how far off the nearest village, or farm, or pool of water might be, so that we might know if it were near and might go and sleep there.

When the horsemen (who were Cristóbal de Olid and a certain Valdenebro, and Pedro González de Trujillo and some other energetic men) set out, I made up my mind to step aside so that neither Cortés nor the horsemen should see me, and with my three strong and active Tlaxcalan servants I followed behind the horsemen until they observed me coming behind them, and stopped in order to turn me back for fear that there should be some unexpected attack by Mexican warriors from which I could not defend myself. Nevertheless I preferred to go on with them, and Cristóbal de Olid, as he was a friend of mine, said that I might go but should keep my hands ready to fight and my feet ready to place myself in safety if there was any fear of warriors, however, my thirst was so great that I would have risked my life to satisfy it. About half a league ahead there were a number of farms and cottages on the hillsides belonging to the people of Xochimilco. The horsemen left me and went to search for pools of water and they found some and satisfied their thirst, and one of my Tlaxcalans brought out of a house a large pitcher of very cold water (for they have very large pitchers in that country) from which I quenched my thirst, and so did they.

Then I determined to return to where Cortés was resting, for the dwellers in the farms were already giving the call to arms and shouting and whistling at us. With the help of the Tlaxcalans I carried along the pitcher full of water and I found Cortés who was beginning to

march again with his army. I told him that there was water at the farms near by and that I had already had a drink and was bringing water in a pitcher which the Tlaxcalans were bringing very carefully hidden, so that it should not be taken from me, for thirst has no laws, and Cortés and some of the other gentlemen drank from it, and he was well satisfied and all were rejoiced and hastened on their march so that we arrived at the farms before the sun had set.

Water was found in the houses, but not very much of it, and owing to the hunger and thirst that they suffered some of the soldiers ate some plants like thistles which hurt their tongues and mouths.

Just then the horsemen returned and reported that the pool of water was a long way off, and that all the country was being called to arms, and that it would be advisable to sleep where we were. So sentinels and watchmen and scouts were at once posted and I was one of the watchmen, and I remember that it rained a little that night and there was a very high wind.

The next day very early in the morning we began our march again and about eight o'clock we arrived at Xochimilco. I cannot estimate the great number of the warriors who were waiting for us, some on the land and others in a passage by a broken bridge, and the great number of breast works and barricades which had been thrown up, and the lances which they carried made from the swords captured from us during the great slaughter on the causeways at Mexico. Many of the Indian captains carried shining swords, taken from us, fixed on the end of long lances, and there were archers and those who used double-pointed javelins and slings with stones and two handed swords like broadswords edged with stone knives. I say that all the mainland was covered with them, and at the passage of that bridge we were fighting

them for more than half an hour and could not get through, neither muskets nor crossbows nor the many great charges that we made were of any avail, and the worst of all was that many other squadrons of them were already coming to attack us on our flanks. When we saw that, we dashed through the water and bridge, some half swimming and others jumping, and here some of our soldiers, much against their will, had perforce to drink so much of the water beneath the bridge that their bellies were swollen up from it.

To go back to the battle, at the passage of the bridge many of our soldiers were wounded, but we soon brought the enemy to the sword's point along some streets where there was solid ground ahead of us. Cortés and the horsemen turned in another direction on the mainland where they came on more than ten thousand Indians, all Mexicans, who had come as reinforcements to help the people in the city, and they fought in such a way with our troops that, with their lances in rest, they awaited the attack of the horsemen and wounded four of them. Cortés was in the middle of the press and the horse he was riding, which was a very good one, a dark chestnut called "el Romo"[1] either because he was too fat, or was tired, (for he was a pampered horse,) broke down, and the Mexican warriors who were around in great numbers laid hold of Cortés and dragged him from the horse; others say that by sheer strength they threw the horse down. Whichever way it may have happened, Cortés and the horse fell to the ground, and at that very moment many more Mexican warriors pressed up to see if they could carry him off alive. When some Tlaxcalans and also a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea (a native of

[1] The flat nosed.

Old Castille in the neighbourhood of Medina del Campo) saw what had happened, they at once came up and with good cuts and thrusts they cleared a space so that Cortés could mount again although he was badly wounded in the head. Olea was also very badly wounded with three sword cuts. By that time all of us soldiers who were anywhere near came to their help. At that time, as every street in the City was crowded with squadrons of warriors and as we were obliged to follow their banners, we were not able all to keep together, but some of us to attack in some places and some of us in others as Cortés commanded us. However we all knew from the shouts and cries, yells and whistles that we heard, that where Cortés and the horsemen were engaged the fight was hottest, and, without further explanation, although there were swarms of warriors round us, we went at great risk to ourselves to join Cortés. Fifteen horsemen had already joined him and were fighting near some canals where the enemy had thrown up breastworks and barricades. When we came up we put the Mexicans to flight, but not all of them turned their backs on us, and because the soldier Olea who had helped our Cortés was very badly wounded with three sword cuts and was bleeding, and because the streets of the city were crowded with warriors, we advised Cortés to turn back to some barricades, so that he and Olea and the horse might be attended to.

So we turned back, but not without anxiety on account of the stones, arrows and javelins which they fired at us from the barricades, for the Mexicans thought that we were turning to retreat and they followed us with great fury. At this moment Andrés de Tápia and Cristóbal de Olid came up, and all the rest of the horsemen who had gone off with them in other directions. Blood was streaming down Olid's face, and from his

horse and from all the rest of them, for everyone was wounded, and they said that they had been fighting against such a host of Mexicans in the open fields that they could make no headway against them, for when we had passed the bridge which I have mentioned it seems that Cortés had divided the horsemen so that half went in one direction and half in the other, one half following one set of squadrons and the other half another set of squadrons.

While we were treating the wounds by searing them with oil, there was a great noise of yells, trumpets, shells and drums from some of the streets on the mainland, and along them came a host of Mexicans into the court where we were tending the wounded, and they let fly such a number of javelins and stones that they at once wounded many of our soldiers. However, the enemy did not come very well out of that incursion for we at once charged on them and with good cuts and thrusts we left most of them stretched out on the ground.

The horsemen too were not slow in riding out to the attack and killed many of them, but two of the horses were wounded. We drove them out of that place or court, and when Cortés saw that there were no more of the enemy we went to rest in another great court where stood the great oratories of the city.

Many of our soldiers ascended the highest temple where the Idols were kept, and from thence looked over the Great City of Mexico and the lakes, for one had a commanding view of it all, and they could see approaching more than two thousand canoes full of warriors who were coming straight towards us from Mexico. Later on we learnt that the Prince of Mexico named Guatemoc had sent them to attack us that night or next day, and at the same time he sent another ten thousand warriors by land so that by attacking us both on one side and the other,

not one of us should go out of that city alive. He had also got ready another ten thousand men as a reinforcement when the attack was made. All this we found out on the following day from five Mexican captains who were captured during the battle.

However, our Lord ordained that it should be otherwise, for when that great fleet of canoes was observed and it was known that they were coming to attack us, we agreed to keep a very good watch throughout the camp, especially at the landing places and canals where they had to disembark. The horsemen were waiting very much on the alert all night through, with the horses saddled and bridled on the causeway and on the mainland, and Cortés and all his captains were keeping watch and going the rounds all night long. I and two other soldiers were posted as sentinels on some masonry walls, and we had [got together] many stones where we were posted, and the soldiers of our company were provided with crossbows and muskets and long lances, so that if the enemy should reach the landing place on the canals we could resist them and make them turn back; other soldiers were posted as guards on other canals.

While my companions and I were watching we heard a sound of many canoes being paddled, although they approached with muffled paddles, to disembark at the landing place where we were posted, and with a good shower of stones and with the lances we opposed them so that they did not dare to disembark. We sent one of our companions to give warning to Cortés, and while this was happening there again approached many more canoes laden with warriors, and they began to shoot many darts and stones and arrows at us, and as we again opposed them, two of our soldiers were wounded in the head, but as it was night time and very dark the canoes went to join the captains of the whole fleet of canoes and

they all went off together to disembark at another landing place where the canals were deeper. As they were not used to fight during the night, they all went to join the squadrons that Guatemoc had sent by land which already numbered more than fifteen thousand Indians.

I also wish to relate, but not for the purpose of boasting about it, that when our companion went to report to Cortés that many canoes full of warriors had reached the landing place where we were watching, Cortés himself accompanied by ten horsemen came at once to speak to us, and as he came close to us without speaking we cried out, I and Gonzalo Sánchez, a Portuguese from Algarve, and we shouted "who comes there, are not you able to speak, what do you want?" and we threw three or four stones at him. When Cortés recognised my voice and that of my companion he said to the Treasurer Julian de Alderete and to Fray Pedro Melgarejo and the Maestre de Campo, Cristóbal de Olid, who were accompanying him on his rounds "We need no further security here than the two men who are here stationed as watchmen, they are men who have been with me from the earliest times and we can fully trust them to keep a good look out even in a case of still greater danger" and then they spoke to us and explained the danger that was threatening us.

In the same way without saying more to us they went on to examine the other outposts and when I was least expecting it, we heard how they flogged two soldiers who were lounging through their watch, these were some of Narvaez's men.

There is another matter which I call to mind, which is that our musketeers had no more powder, and the crossbowmen no arrows, for on the day before they had fired so quickly that all had been used up. That same night Cortés ordered the crossbowmen to get ready all [the arrows] they possessed and to feather them and

fix on the arrow heads, for on these expeditions we always carried many loads of materials for arrows and over five loads of arrow heads made of copper, so that we could always make arrows when they were needed. So all that night every crossbowman was occupied feathering and putting heads on the arrows, and Pedro Barba, who was their Captain never ceased from overseeing the work and from time to time Cortés assisted him.

Let us leave this and relate that as soon as there was daylight we saw all the Mexican squadrons closing in on the court where we were encamped, and, as they never caught us napping, the horsemen in one direction where there was firm ground, and we and our Tlaxcalan allies in another, charged through them and killed and wounded three of their captains who died the next day, and our allies made a good capture and took as prisoners five chieftains, from whom we learnt what orders had been given by Guatemoc, as I have already related.

Many of our soldiers were wounded in that battle, but this encounter was not the end of the fighting, for our horsemen following on the heels of the enemy, came on the ten thousand warriors whom Guatemoc had sent as reinforcements to help and support those whom he had sent in advance. The Mexican Captains who came with this force carried swords captured from us, and made many demonstrations of the valour with which they would use them saying that they would slay us with our own arms. When our horsemen who were few in number found themselves close to the enemy and saw the great number of squadrons, they feared to attack them, and they moved aside so as not to meet them until Cortés and all of us could come to their aid. When we heard of this, without a moment's delay, all the horsemen who were left in mounted their horses although both men and horses were wounded, and all the soldiers and crossbowmen and our

Tlaxcalan allies marched out and we charged in such a way that we broke the ranks of the enemy and got at them hand to hand and with good sword play made them abandon their unlucky enterprise and leave us the field of battle.

Let us leave this and go on to say that we captured some other chieftains there and heard from them that Guatemoc had ordered another great flotilla of Canoes to be despatched and was sending many more warriors by land, and had said to his warriors that when we were weary from our recent encounters and had many dead and wounded, we would become careless, thinking that no more squadrons would be sent against us, and that with the large force he was then sending they would be able to defeat us. When this was known, if we had been on the alert before we were much more so now, and it was agreed that the next day we should leave the city and not wait for more attacks. That day we spent in attending to the wounded, and in cleaning our arms and making arrows.

It appears that in this city there were many rich men who had very large houses full of mantles and cloth and Indian cotton shirts, and they possessed gold and feather work and much other property. It so happened that while we were occupied as I have described, the Tlaxcalans and some of our soldiers chanced to find out in what part of the town these houses were situated, and some of the Xochimilco prisoners went with them to point them out. These houses stood in the fresh water lake and one could reach them by a causeway, but there were two or three small bridges in the causeway where it crossed some deep canals, and as our soldiers went to the houses and found them full of cloth and no one was guarding them, they loaded themselves and many of the Tlaxcalans with the cloth and the gold ornaments and came with it to the camp. Some of the other soldiers when they saw this,

also set out for the houses, and while they were inside taking the cloth out of some huge wooden boxes, at that very moment a great flotilla of canoes arrived full of Indians from Mexico who fell upon them and wounded many of the soldiers, and carried off four of them alive and took them to Mexico, but the rest escaped.

One of those who was carried off was Juan de Lara and another Alonzo Hernández, but I forget the names of the others. When these four soldiers were taken to Guatemoc he learnt how few of us we were who had come with Cortés and that many of us were wounded, and all that he wished to know about our journey. When he had thoroughly informed himself about all this, he ordered the arms, feet and heads of our unfortunate companions to be cut off and sent them to the towns of our allies, to those that had already made peace with us, and he sent to tell them that he did not think there would be one of us left alive to return to Texcoco. The hearts and blood were offered to the Idols.

Let us leave this and say how he at once sent many fleets of canoes full of warriors, and other companions by land, and told them to see to it that we did not leave Xochimilco alive. As I am tired of writing about the many battles and encounters which we fought against the Mexicans in those days, and yet cannot omit to mention them, I will say that as soon as dawn broke there came such a host of Culuans, that is Mexicans, by the waterways and others by the causeways and by the mainland that we could hardly break them up. So we then went out from the city to a great Plaza which stood at a little distance from the town, where they were used to hold their markets, and halted there with all our baggage ready for the march. Cortés then began to make us a speech about the danger in which we were placed, for we knew for certain that in the bad passes on the roads, at the creeks and on the

canals the whole power of Mexico and its allies would be lying in wait for us, and he told us that it would be a good thing, and it was his command, that we should march unencumbered and should leave the baggage and the cloths so that it should not impede us when it came to fighting. When we heard this with one voice we answered that, please God we were men enough to defend our property and persons and his also, and that it would show great cowardice to do such a thing. When Cortés knew our wishes and heard our reply he said that he prayed God to help us, and then knowing the strength and power of the enemy, we arranged the order of march, the baggage and the wounded in the middle, the horsemen divided so that half of them marched ahead and half as a rearguard. The crossbowmen and our native allies we also placed near the middle as a security, for the Mexicans were accustomed to attack the baggage. Of the musketeers we did not take much count for they had no powder left.

In this order we began our march, and when the squadrons of Mexicans whom Guatemoc had sent out that day saw us retreating from Xochimilco they thought that it was from fear and that we did not dare to meet them, which was true, and so great a host of them started off at once and came directly against us that they wounded eight soldiers of whom two died within eight days, and they thought to defeat us and break into the baggage, but as we marched in the order I have described they were not able to do it. However, all along the road until we reached a large town called Coyoacan, about two leagues distant from Xochimilco, the warriors never ceased to make sudden attacks on us from positions where we could not well get at them, but whence they could assail us with javelins and stones and arrows, and then take refuge in the neighbouring creeks and ditches.

When we arrived at Coyoacan about ten o'clock in the morning we found it deserted.

I wish now to say that there are many cities standing about two leagues apart from one another, near the Great City of Mexico, such as Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Churubusco, Iztapalapa, Cuitlahuac and Mexquic[1] and two or three other pueblos, (the greater part of them built in the water,) which stand a league and a half or two leagues one from the other, and from all of them many Indian warriors had assembled in Xochimilco to fight against us. I will go on to say that when we arrived at this large town and found it deserted, as it stands on level ground, we determined to rest there that day and the next so as to attend to the wounded and to make arrows, for we understood very well that we should have to fight more battles before returning to our camp at Texcoco.

Next day early in the morning we began our march in the same formation that we were accustomed to keep, following the road to Tacuba, which stands about two leagues from our starting place. At one place on the road many squadrons of warriors divided into three parties came out to attack us, but we resisted all three attacks, and the horsemen followed the enemy over the level ground until they took refuge in the creeks and canals.

As we kept on our way in the manner I have described, Cortés left us with ten horsemen to prepare an ambush for the Mexicans who came out from the creeks and made attacks on us. He took with him four pages and the Mexicans pretended that they were running away and Cortés with the horsemen and servants followed them. Then Cortés saw that there was a large force of the enemy placed in ambush who fell upon him and his horsemen

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[1] Suchimillco, Cuyuacan, Huichilubusco, Yztalapa, Cuedlavaca and Mezquique in the text.

and wounded some horses and if they had not retreated at once they would all have been killed or taken prisoners. As it was, the Mexicans carried off alive two out of the four soldiers who were pages to Cortés, and they carried them to Guatemoc who had them sacrificed.

Let us stop talking about this disaster and say that we arrived at Tacuba with our banners flying and with all the army and the baggage. The rest of the horsemen had come in with Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, but Cortés and the ten horsemen who were with him did not appear, and we had an uncomfortable suspicion that some disaster might have overtaken him. Then Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid and other horsemen went in search of him, in the direction of the creeks where we had seen him turn off. At that moment the other two pages who had gone with Cortés and who had escaped with their lives came into camp, (one who was named Monroy and the other Tomás de Rijoles,) and they told us all that I have already related, and said that they had escaped because they were fleet of foot, and that Cortés and the others were following slowly because their horses were wounded. While we were talking Cortés appeared, at which we all rejoiced, although he had arrived very sad and almost tearful. The two pages who were carried off to Mexico to be sacrificed were called one of them Francisco Martin Bendaval (and this name of Bendaval was given to him because he was a little mad) and the other was called Pedro Gallego.

When we arrived at Tacuba it rained heavily and we took shelter for nearly two hours in some large courts, and Cortés with some other captains and the treasurer Alderete, who was unwell, and the Friar Melgarejo and many of us soldiers ascended the lofty temple of that town whence one had a good view of the city of Mexico which is quite near, and of the lake and the other cities

that I have spoken of, which are built in the water. When the Friar and the treasurer Alderete saw so many and such great cities all standing in the water, they were astonished, and when they looked at the Great City of Mexico and the lake and the great multitude of canoes, some going laden with food, others out fishing and others empty, much more did they marvel, and said that our coming to this New Spain, was not an act of human beings but that it was the great Mercy of God who had ordained that we should hold the country and protect it, and that they had already said that they never remembered to have read in any writing of any vassals who had done such great services for their King as we had done, and that now they said it the more positively and that they would send an account of it to His Majesty.

I will omit the rest of the conversation that took place there, and how the Friar consoled Cortés for the loss of his pages, for he was deeply grieved about them, and will say how Cortés and all of us stood there viewing from Tacuba the great Temple of Huichilobos and Tlatelolco and the buildings where we had been used to lodge, and we could see all the city and the bridges and the causeway along which we had fled. At that moment Cortés heaved a sigh of great sadness, very much greater than he had felt before, thinking of his men who had been killed before he descended that lofty temple. From this originated the song or romance:—

En Tacuba esta Cortés	Cortés stood in Tacuba
Con su esquadron esforzado	With his valiant company
Triste estaba y muy penoso	Sad he was, and very anxious
Triste y con gran cuydado	Sad and weighed down with care
Una mano en la mexilla	One hand was to his face
Y la otra en el costado, etc.	The other to his side, etc.

I remember that then a soldier called the Bachelor Alonzo Pérez, who after New Spain was conquered was

the fiscal and a settler in Mexico, said to him, "Señor, do not feel so sad—such things must happen in war, and it will not be said of your honour:

Mira Nero de Tarpeya	Nero from the Tarpean rock
A Roma como se ardia	Watched Rome as it was burning"

Cortés answered him, "you have seen how many times I have sent to Mexico praying them to make peace, for I am not grieving over one matter only, but at the thought of the great hardships through which we must pass before we gain the mastery, and that with the help of God we will soon set to the work."

Enough of these dialogues and romances, for it was not the right time for them; let me say that there was a suggestion made among our soldiers and captains to go and take a look at the causeway, as it ran so close to where we were in Tacuba. However as we had no powder, and very few arrows, and nearly all the soldiers in the army were wounded, and remembering that it was little more than a month since Cortés had been there and had tried to pass along the causeway with a large number of soldiers, and had been in such great danger that there was fear of his being defeated, (as I have related in the chapter which treats of that matter), it was agreed that we should keep on our march, for fear lest some day or night we should become involved in a contest with the Mexicans, for Tacuba is very close to the great city of Mexico and Guatemoc might exert his great powers so as to carry off some of our soldiers alive.

So we began our march, and passed by Atzcapotzalco[1] which we found to be deserted, and went on to Tenayuca which is the large town we were accustomed to call El pueblo de las Sierpes, for I have already said in the

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

chapter that treats of it, that there were three serpents in the chief oratory in which they worshipped and they had them for their Idols. This town was also deserted. From thence we went to Guatitlan, and throughout the day it never ceased raining with heavy rainstorms, and as we marched with our arms shouldered and never took off [our harness] by day or night, what with the weight and the soaking we got, we were quite broken down. We arrived at that large town when night was falling but it also was deserted. It never ceased raining all night long and the mud was very deep. The natives of the place and some squadrons of Mexicans yelled at us all night from the canals and other places where we could do them no harm. As it was raining and very dark no sentinels could be posted or rounds made, and no order was kept, nor could we find those who were posted, and this I can myself assert for they stationed me as a watchman for the first watch, and neither officer nor patrol visited me, and so it was throughout the camp.

Let us leave this carelessness and say that the next day we continued our march to another large pueblo[1] of which I do not remember the name; the mud was very deep in it, and we found it deserted. The following day we passed by other deserted pueblos and the day after we reached a pueblo called Aculman, subject to Texcoco. When they knew in Texcoco that we were coming, they came out to receive Cortés, and there were many Spaniards who had lately come from Spain. Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval with many soldiers also came out to receive us and with him came the Lord of Texcoco, who as I have already said was called Don Fernando.

Cortés had a good reception both from our own people

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[1] Gilotepeque (Cortés Third Letter), *i.e.*, Citlaltepec.

and from those recently come from Spain, and a still more cordial reception from the natives of the neighbouring towns who at once brought us food.

That night Sandoval returned to Texcoco with all his soldiers to protect his camp, and the next morning Cortés and all of us continued our march to Texcoco. So we marched on weary and wounded, and having left many of our soldier companions behind us dead, or in the power of the Mexicans to be sacrificed, and instead of resting and curing our wounds we had to meet a conspiracy organized by certain persons of quality who were partisans of Narvaez, for the purpose of killing Cortés and Gonzalo de Sandoval, Pedro de Alvarado and Andrés de Tápia.

What else happened I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

How when we arrived at Texcoco with Cortés and all our army from the expedition after making a circuit of the towns of the lake, it had been settled among certain of those persons who came with Narvaez to kill Cortés and all who should go to his defence. And he who was the principal author of this farce was one who had been a servant of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, and Cortés ordered this soldier to be hanged; and how the slaves were branded, and all the camp and the friendly towns were got ready, and a review was held, and orders given and other things that happened.

As I have already said we returned broken up and wounded from the expedition that I have recorded. It appears that a great friend of the Governor of Cuba named Antonio de Villafaña, a native of Zamora or Toro, planned with other soldiers of the party of Narvaez, (I will not mention their names for their honour's sake), that when Cortés should thus return from that expedition

they would kill him with dagger thrusts. As a Spanish ship had arrived at that time it was to happen in this way: when Cortés should be seated at table dining with his Captains, one of the persons who had made the plot should bring him a letter firmly closed up and sealed as though it came from Castile, and should say that it came from his father Martin Cortés, and while he was reading it they should stab him with daggers, both Cortés and all the Captains and soldiers who should happen to be near Cortés and would defend him.

When all that I have spoken about had already been talked over and prepared, it pleased Our Lord that those who had arranged it should give a share in the affair to two important persons (I wish also to avoid mentioning their names) who had gone on the expeditions with us, and in the plan that had been made they had named one of these persons to be captain general when they had killed Cortés, and other soldiers of the party of Narvaez they appointed chief alguazil and ensign, and alcaldes, magistrates, treasurer and inspector and other officers of that sort; and they had even divided among themselves our property and horses, and this plot was kept secret until two days after our arrival at Texcoco.

It pleased our Lord God that such a thing should not come to pass, for New Spain would have been lost and all of us, for parties and follies would have sprung up at once.

It seems that a soldier divulged it [the plot] to Cortés, who at once put a stop to it before more fuel could be added to the fire, for that good soldier asserted that many persons of quality were concerned in it. When Cortés knew of it, after making great promises and gifts, which he gave to the man who disclosed it to him, he at once secretly informed all our Captains, namely, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Lugo, Cristóbal de Olid,

Andrés de Tápia, Gonzalo de Sandoval and me, and the two alcaldes who were on duty that year, namely, Luis Marin and Pedro de Írcio and all of us who were adherents of Cortés.

As soon as we knew about it we got ready, and without further delay went with Cortés to the lodging of Antonio Villafaña, and there were present with him many of those who were in the conspiracy, and with the aid of four alguaciles whom Cortés had brought with him we promptly laid hands on Villafaña, and the Captains and soldiers who were with him at once began to flee and Cortés ordered them to be seized and detained. As soon as we held Villafaña prisoner Cortés drew from his [Villafaña's] breast the memorandum which he possessed with the signatures of all who were in the conspiracy, and after he had read it and had seen that there were many persons of quality in it, so as not to dishonour them, he spread the report that Villafaña had swallowed the memorandum and that he [Cortés] had neither seen nor read it, and he at once brought him to trial. When his [Villafaña's] statement was taken he spoke the truth and with the many witnesses of good faith and credibility whose evidence they took on the case, the regular Alcaldes jointly with Cortés and the Quarter Master Cristóbal de Olid gave sentence, and after he had confessed with the priest Juan Díaz, they hanged him from the window of a room where he had lodged.

Cortés did not wish that anyone else should be dishonoured in that affair, although at that time many were made prisoners in order to frighten them, and to make a show that he wished to punish others, but as the time was not suitable he overlooked it.

Cortés at once agreed to have a guard for his person, and the Captain of it was a gentleman named Antonio

de Quiñones a native of Zamora, with six soldiers, good and valiant men who guarded him [Cortés] day and night. And he begged us, whom he knew belonged to his party, to look after his person. Although from that time forth he showed great kindness to those who were in the conspiracy, he distrusted them.

Let us leave this subject and say that he at once ordered it to be proclaimed that, within two days, all the Indian men and women that we had captured on those expeditions should be brought to be branded, and a house was designated for the purpose.

So as not to waste more words in this story about the way that they were sold at the auction, (beyond what I have said at other times on the two other occasions when they were branded,) if it were done badly before, it was done much worse this time, for, after taking out the royal fifth, Cortés took his fifth and further thefts for Captains, and if those we sent to be branded were handsome and good Indian women they stole them by night from the crowd, so that they should not reappear from then till doomsday and on this account many women were left out, who we afterwards kept as free servants.

Let us leave this subject and say what orders were afterwards given in our camp.

BOOK XII.

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

How Cortés ordered all the pueblos which were friendly to us in the neighbourhood of Texcoco to make a store of arrows and copper arrow heads, and what other orders he gave in our camp.

AFTER Antonio de Villafaña had been punished, and those had quieted down who jointly with him had conspired to kill Cortés and Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval and such of us as should try to defend them, as I have already more fully written in the last Chapter, and when Cortés saw that the sloops were already built and their rigging, sails and oars were in place, and that there were spare oars for each sloop, and that the canal by which they were to pass out to the lake was very broad and deep, he sent to advise all the friendly pueblos near Texcoco to make eight thousand arrow heads of copper in each pueblo, and they were to be good ones like some others from Castile which they were given as patterns. And he also ordered them to make and trim for him in each pueblo eight thousand arrows of a very good kind of wood, and for these they also carried away a sample, and

he gave them a limit of eight days in which to bring both the arrows and arrow heads to our camp. They brought them within the time allotted, and there were more than fifty thousand arrow heads and as many thousand arrows, and the arrow heads were better than those from Castile. Then Cortés immediately commanded Pedro Barba, who was at that time captain of the crossbowmen, to divide both arrows and arrow heads among all the crossbowmen, and to order them to polish and oil them, and to put feathers on them with a paste, (which sticks better than that from Castile) which is made from some roots called Zacotle. He also gave an order to Pedro Barba that each crossbowman should have two clean and well plaited cords for his crossbow, and as many spare nuts,[1] so that if a cord should break or a nut fly off, they could at once put another in its place, and that they should always shoot at a mark, and see to what distance the crossbow would carry, and for this purpose he gave them a quantity of Valencia thread for the cords, for in the ship belonging to Juan de Burgos, which I have said arrived from Spain a few days before, much thread was brought and a large quantity of powder and crossbows and many other arms and horseshoes and muskets. Cortés also ordered the horsemen to have their horses shod, and to get their lances ready and to parade every day on horseback and gallop and train their horses to turn swiftly, and to skirmish.

When this was done he sent messengers and letters to our friend Xicotenga the elder, who, I have said at other times, had already become a Christian and was called Don Lorenzo de Vargas, and to his son Xicotenga the younger and to his brothers, and to Chichimecatecle, informing them that when the day of Corpus Christi was passed, we were going to leave this city to proceed against Mexico

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[1] Nuez = the catch made of bone into which the cord was hooked.

and to invest it. He told them to send him twenty thousand warriors from their own people at Tlaxcala, and from those of Huexotzingo and Cholula, for all were now friends and brothers in arms, and they all knew the time of meeting and the plan, as he had informed them by their own Indians who were continually leaving our camp laden with the spoils from the expeditions we had made.

He also gave warning to the people of Chalco and Tlamanalco and their vassals, to be prepared when we should send to summon them, and he gave them to understand that we were about to invest Mexico, and the time when we should set out, and he said the same to Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco and to his chieftains and to all his vassals, and to all the other towns friendly to us. One and all replied that they would do exactly what Cortés sent to order them, and that they would come. The people from Tlaxcala came when the feast of Espíritu Santo was over. When this was done he determined to hold a review on one of the feast days. I will go on to tell the arrangement that he made.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

How a review was held in the City of Texcoco, in the great courts of that city, and what horsemen and crossbowmen and musketeers and soldiers were present, and the orders that were proclaimed and other things that were done.

AFTER the orders were given, in the manner I have already stated, and messengers and letters had been sent to our friends the people of Tlaxcala and of Chalco, and warning given to the other towns, Cortés decided with our Captains and soldiers that on the second day of the feast of Espíritu Santo (this was the year one thousand five hundred and

twenty one) a review should be held. This review was held in the great Courts of Texcoco and there were present eighty-four horsemen, six hundred and fifty soldiers with swords and shields and many with lances, and one hundred and ninety four crossbowmen and musketeers. From these there were chosen to man the thirteen launches those that I will now mention :—for each launch, twelve crossbowmen and musketeers ; these men were not to row, for in addition to them there were also set apart another twelve men, six on each side as rowers for each launch. These are the dozen I spoke about, and besides these there was a Captain for each launch, so that with the Captain, every launch carried twenty-five soldiers. Thirteen launches each with twenty-five soldiers comes to two hundred and eighty-eight soldiers, and with the artillerymen, which were given them in addition to the twenty-five soldiers, there were in all the launches, three hundred soldiers, according to the account which I have given.[1]

He [Cortés] also divided among them all the boat guns and falconets we possessed and the powder he thought they would need. When this was done, he ordered the [following] rules, which we all had to observe, to be proclaimed.

First, no man should dare to blaspheme our Lord Jesus Christ, nor Our Lady, His Blessed Mother, nor the Sainted Apostles, nor any other saints under heavy penalty.

Second, no soldier should illtreat our allies, since they went to help us, or should take anything away from them even if they should be spoils gained by

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[1] The arithmetic is confusing, as is also that of Cortés, who says—(Second Letter) "For the thirteen sloops, I left three hundred men, nearly all of them skilful sailors, so that in each sloop there were twenty-five Spaniards, and each vessel carried a Captain, a Veedor, and six Crossbowmen and Musketeers."

war, whether Indian men or women or gold or silver or Chalchihuites.

Another was, no soldier should dare to depart either by day or night from our camp to go to any pueblo of our allies, or anywhere else, either to fetch food or for any other matter, under heavy penalties.

Another, all the soldiers should wear very good armour, well quilted, a neck guard, head piece, leggings, and shield, for we knew about the great number of javelins and stones and arrows and lances, and for all of them it was necessary to wear the armour which the proclamation mentioned.

Another, no one should gamble for a horse or arms on any account, under heavy penalty.

Another, no soldier, horseman, crossbowman, or musketeer should go to sleep unless he were fully armed and shod with his sandals, unless it were under the stress of wounds or because he was suffering from illness, so that we might be fully prepared whatsoever time the Mexicans might come to attack us.

In addition to these, the laws were proclaimed which were ordered to be observed in soldiering; that is, that anyone who sleeps when on guard or leaves his post should be punished with death, and it was proclaimed that no soldier should go from one camp to another without leave from his Captain under pain of death.

Another, that any soldier deserting his Captain in war or battle, should suffer death.

This proclamation being issued, I will relate what else was settled.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

How Cortés sought the rowers who were needed to row the launches, and appointed the Captains who were to go in them, and other things that were done.

AFTER the review (which I have already spoken of several times) had taken place, Cortés saw that not enough men who knew how to row could be found to row the launches, although those who had been brought in the ships which we destroyed when we came with Cortés were thoroughly experienced and the sailors from the ships of Narvaez and those from Jamaica also knew how to row, and all of them were placed on the list, and had been warned that they would have to row. Yet counting all of them, there was not a supply for all the thirteen launches. As many of the men refused, and even said that they would not row, Cortés made enquiries to find out who were seamen, or had been seen to go out fishing, and if they came from Palos or Moguer or from Triana or 'El Puerto', or from any other port or place where there were sailors, he ordered them under pain of heavy penalties to go on board the launches. However high born they might say they were, he made them go and row, and in this way he got together one hundred and fifty men as rowers, and they were much freer from hardships than we were who were stationed on the causeways fighting, and they became rich from plunder as I will relate further on.

After Cortés had decided who should go in the launches, he divided the crossbowmen and musketeers and the powder, cannon and arrows and everything else that was necessary among them and ordered them to place in each launch the royal banners and other banners with the name that was given to each launch, besides other things which were needed, and he named as Captains

for each one of them those whom I will now mention here:—Garcí Holguin, Pedro Barba, Juan de Linpias Carvajal the deaf, Juan Jaramillo, Jerónimo Ruiz de la Mota, his companion Caravajal, who is now very old and lives in the street of San Francisco, and one . . . . . Portillo who had just come from Castile, a good soldier who had a handsome wife, and a Zamora who was a ship's mate and now lives in Oaxaca, a Colmenero who was a seaman and a good soldier, a Lema, a Jínes Nórtes, a Briones a native of Salamanca, another Captain whose name I do not remember, and Miguel Díaz de Auz.

After he had named them, and ordered all the cross-bowmen and musketeers, and the other soldiers who had to row to obey the Captains whom he was placing over them, and not to leave their commands under heavy penalties, he gave instructions to each Captain what he was to do, and to what part of the causeways he was to go, and with which one of the Captains who were on land [he was to co-operate]. When he had finished arranging all that I have mentioned, they came to tell Cortés that the Captains from Tlaxcala with a great number of warriors were approaching, and that Xicotenga, the younger, was coming as their commander in chief, the same who was commander during the wars in Tlaxcala, and it was he who plotted the treachery in Tlaxcala when we came out in flight from Mexico, as I have many other times recounted, and that he was bringing in his Company his two brothers, sons of the good old man Don Lorenzo de Vargas. He [Xicotenga] was also bringing a great force of Tlaxcalans under the command of Chichimecatecle and men from Huexotzingo, and another regiment of Cholulans, although they were few in number, because, from what I always observed after we had punished the people of Cholula (already spoken about by me in the Chapter treating of it), they never afterwards sided with

Mexicans nor yet with us, but were keeping on the look out,[1] and even when we were expelled from Mexico they were not found in opposition to us.

Let us leave this, and go back to our story. When Cortés knew that Xicotenga and his brothers and other Captains were approaching, (and they were coming one day before the time he had told them to come,) Cortés went out a quarter of a league from Texcoco to receive them with Pedro de Alvarado and others of our Captains, and as soon as he met Xicotenga and his brothers, Cortés paid them great respect and embraced them and all the other Captains. They approached in fine order, all very brilliant with great devices, each regiment by itself with its banners unfurled, and the white bird, like an eagle with its wings outstretched, which is their badge. The ensigns waved their banners and standards, and all carried bows and arrows, two handed swords, javelins and spear throwers; some carried macanas and great lances and others small lances. Adorned with their feather head-dresses, and moving in good order and uttering shouts, cries, and whistles, calling out, "Long live the Emperor our Master", and "Castile, Castile, Tlaxcala, Tlaxcala". they took more than three hours entering Texcoco.

Cortés ordered them to be lodged in good quarters, and to be supplied with everything we had in our camp. After many embraces and promises to enrich them, he took leave of them and told them that next day he would give them orders what they were to do, and that now they were tired and should rest.

At the very moment that these chiefs from Tlaxcala, of whom I have spoken, arrived, letters reached our camp sent by a soldier named Hernando de Barrientos, from a town named Chinantla, distant about ninety leagues

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[1] A la mira, *i.e.*, on the look out to see which side to take.

from Mexico, and what was said in them was, that at the time when we were expelled from Mexico, the Mexicans had killed his three companions who were at the farm and mines where the Captain Pizarro (for so he was called) had left them to search and explore all the neighbourhood for rich gold mines, as I have related in the Chapter that treats of that subject, and that Barrientos had taken refuge in the town of Chinantla where he remained, for they [the people of Chinantla] were enemies of the Mexicans. This [Chinantla] was the town whence they brought the pikes when we went against Narvaez; and because other particulars which were given in the letter, do not concern our story, they will be omitted. Cortés wrote to him [Barrientos] in reply, giving an account of how we were marching to invest Mexico, and telling him to give his compliments to all the chieftains of those provinces, and to take care not to leave that country until he should learn by letter from him what he was to do, lest the Mexicans should kill him on the road. Let us leave this and say how Cortés gave orders as to the way we should go to invest Mexico and who were to be the Captains.

CHAPTER CL.

How Cortés ordered three divisions [each composed] of cavalry crossbowmen and musketeers to go and invest the great city of Mexico, and the Captains that he named for each division, and the soldiers, horsemen, crossbowmen, and musketeers that he divided between them, and the positions and cities where we were to establish our camps.

He [Cortés] appointed Pedro de Alvarado Captain of one hundred and fifty sword and shield soldiers (and many of them carried lances) and thirty horsemen and eighteen musketeers and crossbowmen, and he named his brother

Jorge de Alvarado, and Gutiérrez de Badajoz and Andrés de Monjaraz to go together with him, and these he appointed to be Captains of fifty soldiers and to divide among the three of them the musketeers and crossbowmen, as many in one Company as in the other. Pedro de Alvarado was to be Captain of the horsemen and General of the three companies, and he gave him eight thousand Tlaxcalans and their Captains, and he selected me and ordered me to go with Pedro de Alvarado, and told us to go and take up our position in the City of Tacuba. He ordered that the armour we took with us should be very good headpieces, neck coverings and leggings, for the Mexicans fought against us with arrows, lances and macanas and other arms such as two handed swords, and the darts and stones were as numerous as hail-stones, and our defence was to go well armoured. Notwithstanding all this, every day that we were fighting there were deaths and wounds, as I will relate further on.

Let us go on to the next division. He gave to Cristóbal de Olid, who was quartermaster, other thirty horsemen and one hundred and seventy-five soldiers and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen all provided with armour, in the same way as the soldiers he gave to Pedro de Alvarado, and he appointed three other Captains who were Andrés de Tápia, Francisco Verdugo, and Francisco de Lugo, and between all three Captains were divided all the soldiers and crossbowmen and musketeers. Cristóbal de Olid was Captain General of the three Captains and of the horsemen, and he gave him another eight thousand Tlaxcalans, and ordered him to go and establish his camp in the city of Coyoacan, which is two leagues from Tacuba.

Cortés made Gonzalo de Sandoval, the chief Alguacil, Captain of the other division of soldiers, and gave him twenty-four horsemen, fourteen musketeers and cross-

bowmen, one hundred and fifty sword, shield and lance soldiers, and more than eight thousand Indian warriors from the people of Chalco and Huexotzingo and of some other friendly pueblos through which Sandoval had to pass, and he gave him as companions and captains, Luis Marin and Pedro de Ircio who were Sandoval's friends, and ordered the soldiers, crossbowmen and musketeers to be divided between the two captains, and that Sandoval should have the horsemen under his command and be the General, and that he should place his camp near to Iztapalapa, and attack it and do it all the damage he could, until Cortés should send him other orders. Sandoval did not leave Texcoco until Cortés, who was Commander in chief of the regiments and of the launches, was quite ready to set out for the lake with the thirteen launches in which he carried three hundred soldiers with crossbowmen and musketeers.

The plan of operation having been thus arranged, directing Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid to march in one direction and Sandoval in the other, I will now explain, in order that those who do not know these cities and the lake may understand it, that although one party went to the right and the other followed a different route, this was because they came round so as nearly to meet again.

Let us stop speaking further about this and say that to each Captain, he [Cortés] gave instructions about what his orders were, and how we were to set out next day in the morning, and so as to avoid confusion on the road, we sent on ahead all the regiments of Tlaxcalans, until they should reach Mexican Territory.

As the Tlaxcalans with their Captain, Chichimecatecle and other Captains with their men, marched carelessly, they did not notice whether Xicotenga, the younger, who was their Captain General, accompanied them and when

Chichimecatecle asked and enquired what had become of him, and where he had stopped, they found out that he had that night returned secretly to Tlaxcala, and was going to seize forcibly the caciqueship and vassals and lands of Chichimecatecle himself. The Tlaxcalans said that the reasons for his so doing were that when Xicotenga, the younger, saw the Captains of Tlaxcala, especially Chichimecatecle, going to the war, [he knew that] there would be nobody to oppose him, for he did not fear his father Xicotenga, the blind, who, being his father would aid him, and our friend Mase Escaci was already dead, and the [only] man he feared was Chichimecatecle. They also said that they always knew that Xicotenga had no wish to go to the war against Mexico, for they heard him say many times that all of us and of them would be killed. As soon as the Cacique Chichimecatecle, to whom the lands and vassals belonged that he [Xicotenga] was going to seize, heard and understood this, he turned back from the march more than swiftly and came to inform Cortés about it.

As soon as Cortés knew of it he at once ordered five Texcocan chieftains and two from Tlaxcala, friends of Xicotenga, to go and force him to return, and to tell him that Cortés begged him to come back at once and go against his enemies the Mexicans, and to reflect that if his father Don Lorenzo de Vargas were not so old and blind he would come against Mexico himself and as all Tlaxcalans were and are very loyal servants of His Majesty, that it did not become him to dishonour them as he was now doing. And he sent to make him many offers and promises that he would give him gold and cloths if he would return. The reply he [Xicotenga] sent was that if the old man his father, and Mase Escasi would have believed him, that he [Cortés] would not have so lorded it over them and made them do all that he wished, and

not to waste more words, he said that he did not intend to return. When Cortés heard that answer he at once gave an order for an Alguacil and four horsemen and five Indian chieftains from Texcoco to go in all haste and wherever they should overtake him to hang him, and he said, "There is never any improvement in this Cacique, but he must always be a traitor and ill-disposed towards us and of bad council", and that there was no time to put up with him any longer, or to ignore what had passed. When Pedro de Alvarado knew of it he petitioned strongly on his [Xicotenga's] behalf, and Cortés gave him a favourable answer, and secretly he ordered the Alguacil and the horsemen not to leave him [Xicotenga] alive. And so it was done and in a town subject to Texcoco they hanged him, and thus his treason was put an end to. There was some Tlaxcalans who said that Don Lorenzo de Vargas, the father of Xicotenga, sent to tell Cortés that this son of his was a bad man and he would not vouch for him, and that he begged Cortés to kill him.

Let us leave this story as it is, and say that for this reason we remained that day without setting out from Texcoco, and the next day the 13th May 1521[1] we set out, both divisions together, for Cristóbal de Olid and Pedro de Alvarado had both to take the same road. We went to sleep at a pueblo subject to Texcoco named Acolman,[2] often mentioned by me before, and it happened that Cristóbal de Olid sent on ahead to that pueblo to secure quarters, and had green branches placed above the roof of each house as a sign. When we arrived with Pedro de Alvarado we found no place where we could lodge, and over this [matter] the men of our

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[1] This date is probably wrong, see appendix "A Diary of the Siege."

[2] Acuylma in the text.

Company had already put hands to their weapons against those of Cristóbal de Olid and even the Captains were defying one another, but there were not wanting on both sides gentlemen who got between us and somewhat appeased the clamour, yet not so much but that we still all remained dissatisfied, and from that place they sent to inform Cortés, and he at once despatched Fray Pedro de Melgarejo, and the Captain Luis Marin in all haste, and wrote to the Captains and all of us reproving us on the subject, and when they arrived we made friends, but from that time on, the Captains, Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid were not on good terms.

The next day[1] the two Divisions continued their March together and we went to sleep at a large town[2] which was deserted, for we were already in Mexican territory. The day following[3] we went to sleep in another large town named Cuautitlan,[4] which I have already mentioned at other times, and it also was without inhabitants, and the next day[5] we passed through two other towns named Tenayuca and Atzcapotzalco,[6] which were also deserted, and at the hour of vespers we arrived at Tacuba and at once took up our quarters in some large houses and rooms, for this town also was deserted, and there, too, all our friends the Tlaxcalans found quarters, and that very afternoon they went through the farms belonging to those towns and brought in food to eat. We slept there that night [after stationing] good watchmen, sentinels and scouts, for as I have already said at other times, Mexico was close by Tacuba, and when night fell we

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[1] Thursday, 23rd May.
[2] Zitlaltepec, north of the Lake of Zumpango.
[3] Friday, 24th May.
[4] Gualtitlan in the text.
[5] Saturday, 25th May.
[6] Escapuçalco in the text.

heard great shouts which they [the Mexicans] raised at us from the lake, crying out much abuse, that we were not men enough to come out and fight them. They had many of their canoes full of warriors and the causeways also were crowded with fighting men, and these words that they said were with the idea of provoking us so that we would come out that night and fight; but as we had gained experience from the affair of the causeways and bridges often mentioned by me, we did not wish to go out until the next day, which was Sunday.[1]

After hearing Mass, which was said by Father Juan Díaz, and commending ourselves to God, we agreed that with the two Divisions together, we should go and cut off the water of Chapultepec by which the city was supplied, which was about half a league distant from Tacuba.

As we were marching to break the pipes, we came on many warriors who were waiting for us on the road, for they fully understood that would be the first thing by which we could do them damage, and so when they met us near some bad ground, they began to shoot arrows at us and hurl javelins and stones from slings, and they wounded three of our soldiers, but we quickly made them turn their backs and our friends the Tlaxcalans followed them so that they killed twenty and we captured eighteen of them.

As soon as these squadrons had been put to flight we broke the conduits through which the water flowed to the city, and from that time onwards it never flowed into Mexico so long as the war lasted. When we had accomplished this, our Captains agreed that we should go at once to reconnoitre and advance along the causeway from Tacuba, and do what was possible towards gaining possession of a bridge. When we had marched and reached

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[1] Sunday, 26th May.

the causeway, there were so many canoes on the lake full of warriors, and the causeways also were so crowded with them, that we were astounded at it; and they shot so many arrows and javelins and stones from slings that at the first encounter they wounded over thirty soldiers. Still we went on marching along the causeway towards the bridge, and from what I understand they gave way for us to reach it, so as to get us on the other side of the bridge. When they had got us there, I declare that such a host of warriors charged down on us, that we could not hold out against them; for on the causeway, which was eight paces wide, what could we do against such a great force as was stationed on one side and the other of the causeway, and struck at us as at a mark, for although our musketeers and crossbowmen never ceased loading and firing at the canoes, they did them but very little damage for they brought them [the canoes] very well protected with bulwarks of wood. Then when we attacked the squadrons that fought on the causeway itself, they promptly threw themselves into the water, and there were so many of them that we could not prevail against them. Those on horseback did not make any progress whatever for they [the Indians] wounded their horses from one side and from the other, and as soon as they charged after the squadrons they [the Indians] threw themselves in the water. They [the enemy] had raised breastworks where other warriors were stationed in waiting, with long lances which they had made like scythes from the weapons which had been captured from us when they drove us fleeing out of Mexico.

In this manner we stood fighting with them about an hour, and so many stones were showered on us that we could not bear up against them, and we even saw that there was approaching us in another direction a great fleet of canoes to cut off our passage, so as to turn our

flanks, and knowing this, and because we saw that our friends the Tlaxcalans whom we had brought with us were greatly obstructing the causeway, and, if they went off it, it was clear enough that they could not fight in the water, our Captains and all of us soldiers agreed to retreat in good order and not to go further ahead.

When the Mexicans saw us retreating and the Tlaxcalans escaping beyond the causeway what shouts and howls and whistles they gave us, and how they came on to join us foot to foot. I declare that I do not know how to describe it, for all the causeway was heaped up with javelins, arrows, and stones that had been hurled at us, and many more of them must have fallen in the water. When we found ourselves on dry land we gave thanks to God for having freed us from that battle, for by that time eight of our soldiers had fallen dead, and more than fifty were wounded. Through all this, they yelled out at us and shouted abuse from the canoes, and our friends the Tlaxcalans told them to come on land and even if they were double the number they would fight them. These were the first things that we did to cut off the water and reconnoitre the lake, although we gained no honour by them. That night we stayed in our camp while the wounded were attended to, and one horse died, and we posted a good force of sentinels and scouts.

The next morning[1] Captain Cristóbal de Olid said that he wished to go to his station at Coyoacan, a league and a half away, and notwithstanding that Pedro de Alvarado and other gentlemen begged him not to separate the two divisions, but to keep them together, he would not do so; for as Cristóbal de Olid was very courageous, and in the reconnoissance which we made of the lake, the day before, we had not done well, Cristóbal de Olid said

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[1] Monday, 27th May.

that it was Pedro de Alvarado's fault that we had advanced so rashly, so that he never wished to stay and went off to Coyoacan where Cortés had sent him. We remained in our camp, for it was not right to separate one division from the other at that time, and if the Mexicans had known how few soldiers we were during the four or five days that we were there apart before the launches could come, and had fallen on us and on the division of Cristóbal de Olid, we should have incurred great hardship and they would have done [us] great damage. So we stayed in Tacuba and Cristóbal de Olid in his camp, without daring to reconnoitre any further nor to advance along the causeways, and every day we had skirmishes with many squadrons of Mexicans who came on land to fight with us, and even challenged us so as to place us in situations where they could master us and we could do them no damage.

I will leave them there and I will tell how Gonzalo de Sandoval set out from Texcoco four days after the feast of Corpus Christi and came to Iztapalapa ;[1] almost all the march was among friends, subjects of Texcoco, and when he reached the town of Iztapalapa he at once began to make war and to burn many of the houses that stood on dry land, for all the rest of the houses stood in the lake. However, many hours did not pass before great squadrons of Mexicans came promptly to the aid of that city and Sandoval had a good battle with them and great encounters when they fought on land ; and when they had taken refuge in their canoes they shot many javelins, arrows and stones at him and wounded his soldiers, While they were thus fighting they saw that on a small hill[2] that was close to Iztapalapa on dry land, great smoke

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[1] Friday, 31st May. Cortés gives the date as Friday the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi.

[2] Cerro de la Estrella.

signals were being made, and they were answered by other smoke signals from other towns standing in the lake, and it was a sign to assemble all the canoes from Mexico and all the towns around the lake, for they saw that Cortés had already set out from Texcoco with the thirteen launches. As soon as Sandoval left Texcoco Cortés did not stay there any longer and the first thing he did on entering the lake was to attack a rocky hill which was on an island[1] near Mexico, where many Mexicans were collected both natives of the city as well as countrymen who had gone there to make fortifications. There came out into the lake against Cortés every canoe that was in the whole of Mexico and from all the towns that had been founded on the coast or near it, which are Xochimilco, Coyoacan, Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Mexicaltzingo and other towns which, so as to avoid delay, I will not name, and all went together against Cortés. For this reason those who were attacking Sandoval at Iztapalapa slackened somewhat, and as nearly all the houses of that city at that time stood in the water he could not do them any damage, but at the beginning he killed many of the enemy, and as he had brought with him a great force of allies, with their aid he captured and made prisoners of many of the people of these towns.

Let us leave Sandoval who remained isolated at Iztapalapa and could go with his people to Coyoacan only by the causeway which passes across the middle of the lake, and if he had advanced along it the enemy would have defeated him because they could attack him on both sides from the water, and he would not have been able to defend himself, and for this reason he remained where he was. Let us leave Sandoval and say that as Cortés observed so many fleets of canoes coming together against his thirteen

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[1] Tepepolco, the Peñon del Marqués.

launches, he was greatly in fear of them, and it was enough to frighten him for there were more than a thousand canoes. So he abandoned the fight at the Peñol[1] and stationed himself out in the lake so that if he should find himself hard pressed he would be able to sail with his launches at large, and run to whatever part he chose. He ordered the Captains who came in them [the launches] not to trouble about besetting or bearing down on the canoes until the breeze from the land freshened, for at that moment it began to blow. When the canoes saw that the launches were halting, they thought that it was for fear of them that they were doing it, and then the Mexican Captains gave speed to them [their canoes] and ordered all the people to go at once and surround our launches. At that moment a very strong and favourable breeze sprung up, and what with the great haste that our rowers made, and the time being suitable, Cortés ordered them to engage the fleet of canoes, and they overturned many of them and killed and captured many Indians, and the rest of the canoes went to take refuge among the houses that stood in the lake, and in places where our launches could not reach them.

So this was the first combat that took place on the lake and Cortés gained the victory. Thank God for it all, Amen!

After that was done, Cortés came with his launches towards Coyoacan, where the Camp of Cristóbal de Olid was stationed,[2] and he fought with many Mexican

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[1] Cortés writing about the fight on the Peñol says: "We attacked them in such a way that not one of them escaped except the women and children; in this fight they wounded twenty-five Spaniards, but it was a very beautiful victory."

[2] This statement is misleading, Cortés himself states (Third Letter): "My intention was to go and attack that part of the city of Iztapalapa which stood in the water." However he turned aside to capture the island known as the "Peñol del Marques," then after the battle on the lake he chased the canoes across the lake until they took refuge

Squadrons who waited for him in dangerous places, thinking to capture the sloops, and as they attacked him fiercely from the canoes on the lake and from some Idol houses he ordered four cannon to be taken out of the sloops, and with them he attacked and killed and wounded many Indians, and the gunners were in such a hurry that through carelessness they set fire to the powder and some of them even had their hands and faces scorched. Cortés promptly despatched a very fast sloop to Iztapalapa to Sandoval's camp to bring all the powder they possessed, and he wrote to them not to move from the place where they were stationed.

Let us leave Cortés who had constant skirmishes with the Mexicans until he joined the camp of Cristóbal de Olid[1] and during the two days he stayed there many of the enemy were always attacking him.

As at that time I was at Tacuba with Pedro de Alvarado, I will relate what we did in our camp, for, as we knew that Cortés was going about the lake, we advanced along our causeway with great caution, and not like the first time, and we reached the first bridge, the crossbowmen and musketeers acting in concert some firing while others loaded. Pedro de Alvarado ordered the horsemen not to advance with us but to remain on dry land to guard our rear, fearing lest the pueblos I have mentioned through which we had passed, should attack us on the causeway. In this way we stood sometimes attacking, at others on the defensive so as to prevent them [the Mexicans]

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in the outskirts of Tenochtitlan where he could not follow them. He then made for the Iztapalapa Causeway, and landed on it from the east side at a place named Acachinanco, half a league from the city, where there were two cues, and where the Iztapalapa Causeway was joined by another small causeway from the direction of Coyoacan. Here Cortés established his camp (see Appendix A, vol. ii. The Iztapalapa Causeway).

[1] This is an error, it should doubtless be "until he was joined at his camp [on the causeway] by Cristóbal de Olid."

reaching land from the causeway, for every day we had encounters and in them they killed three soldiers, and we were also engaged in filling up the bad places.

Let us leave this and say how Gonzalo de Sandoval who was in Iztapalapa seeing that he could do the people of Iztapalapa no harm, (for they were in the water,) although they were able to wound his soldiers, determined to make for a small town[1] and some houses which stood in the lake. He was able to get among the houses and began an attack, and while they were fighting, Guatemoc the great Lord of Mexico, sent many warriors to aid them [the inhabitants], and to destroy and break open the causeway by which Sandoval [and his troops] had entered, so as to shut them in and leave no way of escape, and he [also] sent many warriors to the other side. As Cortés who was with Cristóbal de Olid saw the great fleet of canoes going towards Iztapalapa, he decided to go with the launches and with all Cristóbal de Olid's company to Iztapalapa in search of Sandoval. Cortés went on the lake with the launches, while Cristóbal de Olid kept along the causeway, and they saw a great number of Mexicans [at work] breaking down the causeway and they took it for certain that Sandoval was there in those houses [cut off from the land]. So Cortés went [ahead] with the launches and found Sandoval fighting with the squadron of warriors that Guatemoc had sent. Then the fighting slackened and Cortés at once ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to abandon the [camp] at Iztapalapa and go[2] by land and invest the other causeway which went from Mexico to a town called Tepeaquilla, which they now call Our Lady of Guadelupe, where she works, and has worked, many holy miracles. Let us now relate how Cortés divided the launches and what more was done.

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[1] Mexicaltzingo. [2] Sunday, 2nd June.

NOTE TO CHAPTER CL.

THE following passage from the Third Letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V does much to clear up topographical details; after describing the battle on the lake between his sloops and the Mexican canoes, he says :—

"As the garrison of Coyoacan saw us following the canoes they set out on their march (most of the horsemen and foot soldiers that were there) for the City of Tenochtitlan, and they fought very stoutly with the Indians who were on the Causeway and captured the barricades that these had made and took and passed on foot and on horseback many of the bridges which they (the Indians) had removed, and with the help of the launches which kept along near the causeway[1] our friends the Tlaxcalan Indians and the Spaniards pursued the enemy and slew some of them and threw others into the water on the other side of the causeway from that on which the launches were sailing. So they went along victoriously for more than a big league[2] along the causeway until they arrived where I had halted with the launches as I shall relate below."[3]

Cortés then returns to the description of his own proceedings after the battle on the lake :—

"We went a good three leagues giving chase to the canoes, those that escaped us reaching the houses of the City, and as it was after the time of Vespers, I ordered the launches to assemble, and we arrived with them at the Causeway, and there I determined to land with thirty men to capture two small Idol towers which were surrounded by a low wall of masonry, and as we jumped ashore the enemy fought very fiercely to defend them from us, but at last after much danger and labour we captured them, and I at once ordered three heavy iron cannon which I had brought with me to be taken on shore, because all the rest of the Causeway from there to the City, which was half a league, was all full of the enemy and the water on one side and the other of the Causeway was all full of canoes with warriors. I placed one of the cannon in position and fired ahead along the Causeway and did much damage to the enemy. Owing to the carelessness of the gunner at that same moment that he fired he ignited the powder which we had there, although it was not much, and at once that night I got a launch ready to go to Iztapalapa

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[1] Olid must have already passed the junction of the causeways or he could not have been in touch with the launches.

[2] This would have brought them within half a league of the City.

[3] That is at Acachinanco.

about two leagues distant where the chief Alguacil was stationed, to fetch all the powder he possessed.

"Although at first it was my intention, as soon as I could enter[1] with the launches, to go to Coyoacan and provision it so that an advance could be made with much caution, doing all the damage that was possible, when I landed that day on the Causeway and captured those two towers, I determined to establish my headquarters there and to keep the sloops there near the towers,[2] and [to order] half the men from Coyoacan and fifty foot soldiers from the chief Alguacil to come there next day. When that was arranged, we remained there that night with every precaution for we were in the greatest danger, and all the people from the city came there along the Causeway and by the water, and at midnight a great host of people arrived in canoes and along the Causeway to fall on our camp, and certainly they greatly surprised and terrified us, the more so because it was night, and [to attack] at such a time was not a thing they were accustomed to do, and they had never been known to fight by night without assurance of victory, As we were fully prepared we began to fight with them from the launches, for each launch carried a small field gun, and they began to fire them off and the crossbowmen and musketeers to do the same, so they [the enemy] did not dare to approach any nearer, nor did they come where we could do them any damage, so they left us what remained of the night without attacking us.

"The next day at dawn there arrived at the camp where I was stationed, fifteen crossbowmen and musketeers and fifty sword and shield men, and seven or eight horsemen from the garrison at Coyoacan, and by the time they arrived the people from the City, in canoes and on the Causeway, were already fighting with us, and so great was the multitude that both on land and on water we could see nothing but people, and they raised such yells and shouts that it seemed as though the world were being destroyed.

"We began to fight with them along the Causeway ahead of us, and we gained one bridge which they had removed, and a barricade that they had made at the entrance, and with the cannon and with the horsemen we did them so much damage that we almost shut them in among the first houses of the City. As the launches could not pass to the other side of the Causeway, and many canoes were moving about [there] and they did us damage with arrows and javelins which they shot at us on the Causeway, I had a part of it broken down near our camp, and enabled four launches to pass to the other side, and these when they got through shut up all the canoes among the houses

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[1] *I.e.*, pass through the Causeway.

[2] That is, at Acachinanco.

of the city, so that they did not dare to come out freely in any direction.

"On the other side of the causeway the other eight launches fought with the canoes and shut them up among the houses, and (themselves) went among the houses although up to that time they had not dared to do so, for there were many shoals and stakes to impede them, and when they found canals where they could enter safely, they fought with the men in the canoes and captured some of them, and they burned many houses in the suburbs, and we passed all that day fighting in the manner already described.

"The following day the Chief Alguacil with the people he had in Iztapalapa, both the Spaniards and our allies, set out for Coyoacan, and from thence to the dry land runs a causeway which extends about a league and a half. As the Chief Alguacil began his march, at about a quarter of a league distance he reached a small city,[1] which also stood in the water, but one could ride on horseback through the greater part of it, and the natives of the place began to fight with him, and he defeated them and killed many, and he destroyed and burnt all the city.

"As I knew that the Indians had broken down much of the causeway and the people could not easily pass, I sent two launches so that they could help them to pass, and with these they made a bridge so that the soldiers could cross over. When they had passed they went into quarters at Coyoacan,[2] and the Chief Alguacil with ten horsemen took the road along the causeway to where we were encamped, and when he arrived he found us fighting, and he and those who had come with him dismounted and began to fight with the men on the causeway with whom we were engaged. When the Chief Alguacil began to fight, the enemy pierced his foot with a javelin and although they wounded him and some others of us that day, we did much damage to them, with the heavy cannon and the crossbows and muskets, so that neither those in the canoes nor those on the causeway dared to come so near to us and showed more fear and less pride than was usual. In this way we remained six days,[3] and every day we had a fight with them, and the launches went about burning all the houses they could in the neighbourhood of the city and they found a canal by which they could enter the environs and suburbs of the city and reach

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[1] This must have been Mexicaltzingo. Cortés uses the word "ciudad," but Mexicaltzingo was a small town or village.

[2] They must have marched along the Mexicaltzingo Causeway to Coyoacan while Sandoval and ten horsemen parted from the main body at the junction of the causeway and rode to Acachinanco to join Cortés.

[3] Until Thursday, 6th June.

the main body of it, which was a very great advantage and stopped the coming of the canoes, so that now not one of them dared to show themselves within a quarter of a league of our camp."

CHAPTER CLI.

How Cortés ordered the twelve launches to be stationed and ordered the men to be taken out of the smallest one which was called "Busca ruido" (the riot seeker) and what else happened.

As Cortés and all our captains and soldiers understood that without the launches we could not advance along the causeways to fight [our way] to Mexico, he sent four of them to Pedro de Alvarado,[1] and he left six at his own camp (which was that of Cristóbal de Olid)[2] and he sent two launches to Gonzalo de Sandoval at the Tepeaquilla Causeway, and he ordered the smallest one not to be sent any more on the lake lest the canoes should upset it, for it was of small burden, and he ordered the people and sailors that were in it to be distributed among the other twelve, for there were already twenty men badly wounded among those who manned them.

When we saw ourselves reinforced with these launches in our camp at Tacuba Pedro de Alvarado ordered two of them to go on one side of the causeway and two on the other side, and we began to fight very successfully, for the launches vanquished the canoes which were wont to attack us from the water, and so we had an opportunity to capture several bridges and barricades, and while we were fighting, so numerous were the stones from the slings and the javelins and arrows that they shot at us that although all the soldiers were well protected by

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[1] Cortés had broken a way through the Iztapalapa Causeway so that the launches could pass to the west side.

[2] This is misleading, Cristóbal de Olid's camp was at Coyoacan, but Olid himself and some of his men had joined Cortés at Acachinanco, on the causeway where the six launches were now stationed.

armour they were injured and wounded, and not until night parted us did we cease contending and fighting.[1]

I wish to say that from time to time the Mexicans changed about and relieved their squadrons [as we could tell] by the devices and distinguishing marks on their armour. Then, as to the launches, they were checked by the darts arrows and stones with which they were attacked from the Azoteas which fell thicker than hail, and I do not know how to describe it here nor would anyone be able to understand it except those who were present, for they were more numerous than hail stones, and quickly covered the causeway. Then, whenever we left a bridge or barricade unguarded after having captured it with much labour, they would retake and deepen it that same night, and construct stronger defences and even make hidden pits in the water, so that the next day when we were fighting, and it was time for us to retire, we should get entangled [among the defences] and fall into the pits and they would be able to vanquish us from their canoes, for they had also got ready many canoes for the purpose, stationed in places where our launches could not see them, so that when we were in distress in the pits some [were prepared] to fall upon us by land, and others by water. To prevent the launches from coming to our assistance, they had fixed many stakes hidden in the water so that they should get impaled on them. In this way we fought every day,[2] I have already said before that the cavalry were of little use

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[1] On June 9th a general assault was ordered from all three causeways, but Bernal Diaz does not especially allude to it. On that day Cortés reached the great Plaza of Mexico, but retired to his camp on the Iztapalapa Causeway at night.

[2] Cortés ordered a general assault on June 16th, which was carried out, although Bernal Diaz makes no especial mention of it. On this day Cortés destroyed the palaces round the Plaza in Mexico and then retired to his camp.

on the causeways for if they charged or gave chase to the squadrons that fought with us the Mexicans at once threw themselves into the water, and other squadrons were posted behind breastworks, which they had raised on the causeway, waiting [for the horsemen] with long lances or scythes made very long with the arms captured at the time of the great defeat which they inflicted on us in Mexico. With these lances and great showers of arrows and javelins shot from the lake they wounded and killed the horses before the horsemen could do damage to the enemy. In addition to this those who owned horses did not want to risk them, for at that time a horse cost eight hundred pesos and some even cost more than a thousand, and they could accomplish nothing to speak of, as they could overtake very few of the enemy on the causeway.

Let us leave this subject. When we drew off in the night we treated our wounds by searing them with oil, and a soldier named Juan Catalan blessed them for us and made charms, and truly we found that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us strength in addition to the many mercies he vouchsafed us every day, for they healed rapidly.

Wounded and tied up in rags [as we were] we had to fight from morning until night, for if the wounded had remained in camp without coming out to fight, there would not have been twenty men in each company well enough to go out.

When our friends the Tlaxcalans saw that the man I have mentioned cured us by making the sign of the cross over us, all the wounded and injured went to him, and they were so numerous that he could hardly cure them all in the day.

Then I wish to speak of our captains and ensign and our standard bearers, who were covered with wounds and

their banners ragged, and I declare that we had need of a [fresh] standard bearer every day for we [all] came out in such a condition that they were not able to advance fighting and carry the banners a second time.

Then with all this did we perchance have enough to eat? I do not speak of want of maize cakes, for we had enough of them, but of some refreshing food for the wounded. The cursed stuff that kept life in us was some Quilites,[1] these are herbs that the Indians eat, and the cherries of the country while they lasted, and afterwards tunas[2] which came into season at that time.

Much the same as we did in our camp they did in the camp where Cortés was stationed and in that of Sandoval. There was never a day passed that large companies of Mexicans did not come to attack them, as I have already said at other times, from dawn until night. It was for this purpose that Guatemoc had told off Captains and Squadrons as reinforcements for each causeway, and Tlatelolco and the towns on the Lake often mentioned by me had been warned that on seeing a signal on the great Cue of Tlatelolco they should hasten to assist, some in canoes and others by land; and the Mexican captains had been fully prepared and advised how and when and to what points they were to bring assistance.

Let us leave this and say how we changed our order and manner of fighting, I will explain it thus:—When we saw that however many water openings we captured by day the Mexicans returned and closed them up again, and while capturing them they killed our soldiers and most of us were wounded, we agreed that we should all go and station ourselves on the causeway[3] in a small plaza

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[1] Quilitl, a generic term for vegetables.

[2] Fruit of the Nopal cactus, prickly pears.

[3] About Thursday, 20th June.

where there were some Idol towers which we had already taken, and where there was space to erect our "ranchos," although they were very poor ones and when it rained we all got wet, and they were fit for nothing but to cover us from the dew.[1]

We left the Indian women who made bread for us in Tacuba, and all the horsemen and our friends the Tlaxcalans were left to guard them, and to watch and guard the passes so that they [the enemy] should not come from the neighbouring pueblos and attack our rearguard on the causeway while we were fighting.

So when once we had set up our ranchos where I have stated, thenceforward we endeavoured quickly to destroy the houses and blocks of buildings and to fill up the water openings that we captured. We levelled the houses to the ground, for if we set fire to them they took too long to burn, and one house would not catch fire from another, for, as I have already said at other times, each house stood in the water, and one could not pass from one to the other without crossing bridges or going in canoes. If we wanted to cross the water by swimming they did us much damage from the azoteas, so that we were more secure when the houses were demolished. As soon as we had captured some barrier or bridge or bad pass where they offered much resistance, we endeavoured to guard it by day and by night. This was the way in which all our companies kept guard together during the night, and the following arrangement was made about it:—The first company, which numbered more than forty soldiers, kept watch from night fall until midnight, and from midnight until two hours before dawn another company, also of forty men, kept watch, and the first company did not

[1] This "plaza where there were some Idol towers" was probably situated on the causeway C-D of the Maguey Plan. See vol. iii, pp. 12-14.

leave their post but we slept there on the ground; this [second] watch is called the *modorra*,[1] and soon another forty soldiers came and kept the *alba* [dawn] watch, which is the two hours until daylight, but those who watched the modorra could not leave, but had to stay there, so that when dawn came there were over one hundred and twenty soldiers all on watch together. Moreover on some nights, when we judged that there was special danger we kept watch together, from nightfall until dawn, awaiting a great sally of the Mexicans in fear lest they should break through, for we had warning through some of the Mexican Captains whom we had captured in battle, that Guatemoc had formed the idea, and had talked it over with his captains, of breaking through us on our causeway either by night or day, and that when he had defeated us on our side, he could promptly defeat and rout those on the other two causeways where Cortés was stationed, and where Gonzalo de Sandoval was posted. He also had it arranged that the nine pueblos on the lake and Tacuba itself and Atzcapotzalco and Tenayuca should unite, and choose a day to break through and fall upon us, attacking us on our flanks on the causeway, and that some night they would suddenly carry off the Indian women in Tacuba who made bread for us and our stores. When we got to know this we prepared for it and the horsemen who were in Tacuba and our friends the Tlaxcalans were on watch all night through and kept on the alert.

As Guatemoc had planned it, so he carried it out, and on several nights great squadrons came to attack us and break through at midnight, and others during the modorra and others during the dawn watch, and they came sometimes without commotion and at others with loud yells and whistles, and when they arrived where we were

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[1] Modorra—the drowsy time, before dawn.

keeping night watch, what javelins and stones and arrows they let fly, and there were many others with lances, and although they wounded some of us, yet we resisted them, and sent back many of them wounded. Many other warriors who came to fall on our baggage were defeated by our horsemen and the Tlaxcalans, for as it was night time they did not make much of a stand. And in the way I have described we kept watch in spite of the rain and wind and cold, and even though we were wounded and posted in the midst of mud sloughs, there we had to stay, with this miserable supply of tortillas, herbs, or tunas on which to feed on the top of the work of fighting, which the officers said was a matter of course. Then, notwithstanding all the precautions we took, they would turn on us and open some bridge or causeway which we had captured, and we could not defend it from them in the night so as to prevent them doing it, and the next day it was our turn again to capture it and stop it up, and then they would come again to open it and strengthen it with walls, until the Mexicans changed their method of fighting which I will tell about in its proper time.

Let us cease talking about the many battles we fought every day, and as many more in the camp of Cortés and that of Sandoval, and say that it proved advantageous to have prevented food and water getting to them (the enemy) by way of the three causeways, but our launches were not very useful stationed at our camp and were only serviceable when we were fighting, protecting our flanks from the warriors in the canoes, and from those who fought from the azoteas. The Mexicans brought in much food and water from the nine towns built on the lake, which supplied them with provisions [carried] in canoes by night, and from other friendly pueblos they were supplied with maize and poultry and all that they needed. To prevent these supplies being brought to them, it was arranged

between all the three camps that two launches should cruize in the lake by night and should capture all the canoes they were able, and destroy or bring them to our camps. When this arrangement was made it was a good one, although we had to do without the two launches for fighting and to guard us during the night, but they were of great use in preventing the entrance of food and water. But even with all this, many laden canoes did not fail to get in, and as the Mexicans went about in their canoes carrying supplies without any precautions, there was never a day when the launches that went in search of them did not bring in a prize of canoes and many Indians hanging from the yards.

Let us leave this and tell of the stratagem which the Mexicans employed to capture our launches and kill those that went in them, it was in this way:—As I have said, every night and in the early morning they [the Spaniards] went looking after canoes on the lake, and overturned them with the launches and captured many of them; so they [the Mexicans,] agreed to arm thirty *piraguas*, which are very large canoes, with specially good rowers and warriors, and by night they posted all thirty amongst some reed beds in a place where the launches could not see them; then they sent out before nightfall, with good rowers, two or three canoes covered over with branches as though they were carrying provisions or bringing in water. In the track which, in the opinion of the Mexicans, the launches would follow when they were fighting with them, they had driven numerous strong timbers made pointed like stakes so that they should get impaled on them. Then as the canoes were going over the lake showing signs of being afraid and drew near to the reed beds, two of our launches set out after them, and the two canoes made as though they were retreating to the land, to the place where the thirty piraguas were posted

in ambush, and the launches followed them and as soon as they reached the ambush all the piraguas together sallied out and made for the launches and quickly wounded all the soldiers, rowers, and captains, and they [the launches] could go neither in one direction or another on account of the stakes that had been fixed. In this way they [the Mexicans] killed a captain named somebody de Portilla, an excellent soldier who had been in Italy, and they wounded Pedro Barba who was another very good captain, and they captured his launch, and within three days he died of his wounds. These two launches belonged to the camp of Cortés, and he was greatly distressed about it, moreover within a few days they were very successful with other ambushes they planned about which I will speak at the proper time. Let us cease talking about these things now and relate how in Cortés's camp and in that of Gonzalo de Sandoval they were constantly engaged in heavy fighting, the more so in that of Cortés, because he ordered houses to be demolished and burnt and bridges to be filled up, and all that he gained each day he filled up. He sent an order to Pedro de Alvarado not to pass beyond any bridge or opening in the causeway without first filling it up, and that not a house should be left without being pulled down and set on fire, and with the adobes and timbers of the houses that we demolished we should fill up the passes and openings of the bridges, and our friends from Tlaxcala aided us in all this warfare very manfully.

Let us leave this and say that when the Mexicans saw that we were levelling all the houses to the ground and were filling up the bridges and openings they decided on another way of fighting, and that was, to open a bridge and a very wide and deep channel which we had to pass wading through the water, and it was sometimes out of our depth, and they had dug many pits which we could not see under the water and had made walls and barricades

both on the one side and the other of the opening, and had driven in many pointed stakes of heavy timber in places where our launches would run on to them if they should come to our assistance when we were fighting to capture this fort, for they well knew that the first thing we must do was to destroy the barricade and [pass through] that open space of water so as to reach the City. At the same time they had prepared in hidden places many canoes well manned with warriors and good rowers. One Sunday morning[1] great squadrons of warriors began to approach from three directions and attacked us in such a way that it was all we could do to hold our own and prevent them from defeating us.

At that time Pedro de Alvarado had ordered half the horsemen who used to stay in Tacuba to sleep on the causeway, for there was not so much risk as at the beginning, as there were no longer any azoteas for nearly all the houses had been demolished, and they could move quickly along some parts of the causeway without [fear] that the enemy would be able to wound their horses from the canoes and azoteas. To go back to my story, those three squadrons came on very fearlessly, the one from the direction of the great open space of water, the other by way of some houses that we had pulled down, and the other squadron had taken us in the rear from the direction of Tacuba, and we were surrounded. The horsemen with our Tlaxcalan, friends broke through the squadron that had taken us in the rear and we all of us fought very valiantly with the other two squadrons until we forced them to retreat. However, that seeming flight that they made was a pretence, but we captured the first barricade where they made a stand, nevertheless they abandoned it and we, thinking that we were victorious, crossed that water at a run, for where we

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[1] Sunday, 23rd June.

passed there were no pits and we followed up our advance among some great houses and temple towers. The enemy acted as though they were still retreating but they did not cease to shoot javelins and stones from slings and many arrows and when we were least expecting it a great multitude of warriors who were hidden in a place we were not able to see, and many others from the azoteas and houses joined the combat, and those who at first acted as though they were retreating, turned round on us all at once and dealt us such treatment that we could not withstand them. We then decided to retreat with great caution, but at the water opening which we had captured [that is to say] at the place where we had crossed the first time, where there were no pits, they had stationed such a fleet of canoes that we were not able to cross at that ford, and they forced us to go across in another direction, where, as I have said, the water was very deep, and they had dug many pits. As such a multitude of warriors were coming against us, and we were in retreat, we crossed the water by swimming and wading, and nearly all the soldiers fell in the pits ; then the canoes came down upon us and there the Mexicans carried off five of our companions and took them alive to Guatemoc and they wounded nearly all of us. Moreover the launches which were guarding us could not come to our assistance because they were impaled on the stakes which had been fixed there, and from the canoes and azoteas the Mexicans attacked them so fiercely with javelins and arrows that they killed three soldiers and rowers and wounded many of us. To go back to the pits and the opening, I declare it was a wonder that we were not all killed in them. Concerning myself I may say that many Indians had already laid hold of me, but I managed to get my arm free, and our Lord Jesus Christ gave me strength so that by some good sword thrusts that I gave them I saved myself, but I was badly wounded in one arm, and when I found myself

out of that water in safety, I became insensible and without power to stand on my feet and altogether breathless, and this was caused by the great strain that I exerted in getting away from that rabble and from the quantity of blood I had lost. I declare that when they had me in their clutches, that in my thoughts I was commending myself to our Lord God and to our Lady His Blessed Mother and He gave me the strength I have spoken of by which I saved myself; thank God for the mercy that He vouchsafed me.

There is another thing I wish to mention, that Pedro de Alvarado and the horsemen, when they had thoroughly routed the squadrons that came on our rear from Tacuba, did not any of them pass that water or the barricades, with the exception of one horseman who had come only a short time before from Spain, and there they killed him, both him and his horse. The horsemen were already advancing to our assistance when they saw us coming back in retreat and if they had crossed there, we should have been forced to turn back against the Indians and if [after crossing] they should have again retreated, there would not have been one of them, nor of the horses, nor of us left alive, for the affair was so cunningly [arranged] that they would have fallen in the pits, and there were ever so many warriors who would have killed the horses with lances they had prepared for the purpose, and [by attacking them] from the many azoteas that there were [around], for all this took place in the heart of the City. Flushed with the victory they had gained, the Mexicans continued during that whole day, which as I have said was a Sunday, to send so vast a host of warriors against our camp, that we could not prevail against them, and they expected for certain to rout us, but we held our own against them by [the help of] some bronze cannon and hard fighting, and by all the companies together keeping guard every night.

Let us leave this and say that when Cortés heard of it he was very angry, and he wrote at once to Pedro de Alvarado and [sent the letter] in a launch[1] [to say] that he should take care that neither for good nor evil should he leave a single opening unclosed, and that all the horsemen should sleep on the causeway and keep [their horses] saddled and bridled all night long, and that we should not attempt to go a single step forward until we had filled up that great opening with adobes and timber and that every precaution should be taken in the camp. Then when we saw that it was our fault that great disaster had happened, we began then and there to fill in that opening, and although it meant great labour and many wounds which the enemy inflicted while we were at work, and the death of six soldiers, in four days we had it filled in,[2] and at night we kept watch on the place itself, all three companies in the order I have already mentioned.

I want to say that at this time the Mexicans were quite close to us as we kept watch, and they too had their sentinels and changed them in watches, and it was in this way; they lighted great fires that burned all night through, but those who were on guard stood away from the fires and from afar we were not able to distinguish tnem, and although on account of the brightness of the wood that was always burning we could not see the Indians who were watching, yet we could always tell when they were changing guard, for then they came to feed the fire. On many nights, as it rained heavily at that season it happened that their fire was put out, and they rekindled it without making any noise nor a word spoken among them, for they understood one another by means of whistles.

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[1] Cortés states (Third Letter) that he visited Alvarado's camp himself, and was astonished to find how much he had done and how far he had penetrated into the City.

[2] By Friday, 28th June

I wish to say that very often our musketeers and cross-bowmen when we knew that they [the enemy] were going to change guard threw stones and shot arrows at a venture at groups of them, but they did them no harm, because they were in a place which even if we had wished to get at them in the night we should not have been able to reach them on account of another great and very deep opening of the canal, which they had made by hand and of the barricades and walls they had raised, and they also shot at us volleys of stones, javelins and arrows.

Let us stop speaking about keeping watch and say how each day we advanced along the causeway fighting in the most regular order and we captured the opening, which I have spoken of, where they kept guard ; but such was the multitude of the enemy who came against us every day, and the javelins, arrows and stones they shot, that they wounded us all, although we proceeded with the greatest caution and were well armoured.

Then after having passed all the day fighting, when it was growing late and there was no opportunity for a further advance, only of turning back in retreat, that would be the [very] time they held many squadrons in readiness, believing that with the great energy of their attacks as we retired, they would be able to rout us, for they came on as fierce as tigers and fought us hand to hand. As soon as we found out this plan of theirs, we made the following arrangement for retreating ; the first thing we did was to get our friends the Tlaxcalans off the causeway, for as they were very numerous, they longed with our support to get to blows with the Mexicans, and as the Mexicans were cunning, they wished nothing better than to see us entangled with our friends, thus they made fierce attacks on us from two or three directions, so as to enclose us in the middle and intercept some of us, and, with the many Tlaxcalans who embarrassed us, prevent us from fighting

on all sides, and this was the reason that we got them [the Tlaxcalans] off the causeway to where we could place them in safety. As soon as we found ourselves no longer hampered by them, we retreated to our camp without turning our backs, but always facing the enemy, some of the crossbowmen and musketeers shooting and others loading, and with our four launches in the lake, two on each side of the causeway, protecting us against the fleets of canoes and the many stones from the azoteas and houses which were destined to be pulled down. Yet with all this caution every one of us ran great personal risk until we reached our ranchos. There we at once treated our wounds with oil and bandaged them with native cloth, and supped on the tortillas they had brought us from Tacuba, and on herbs, and such as had them, on Tunas. Then we at once mounted guard at the water-opening which I have mentioned, and the next morning we promptly returned to fight, for we could do nothing else, for however early in the morning it might be, battalions of the enemy were there ready to attack us, and they even reached our camp and shouted abuse at us, and in such manner we underwent our hardships.

Let us stop talking for a time about our camp which is that of Pedro de Alvarado and turn to that of Cortés which the enemy constantly attacked by day and by night and killed and wounded many of his soldiers in the same way as they did to us in the camp at Tacuba. Two launches were always employed every night to give chase to the canoes that entered Mexico with food and water, and it appears that one launch captured two chieftains who came in one of the many canoes that brought food, and from them Cortés found out that forty piraguas and other canoes were lying in ambush in a thicket in order to capture one of our launches, as they did the other time. Cortés flattered these two chieftains who had been captured

and gave them beads, and made them many promises that when Mexico was taken he would give them territory, and through our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, he asked them where the piraguas were stationed, for it would not be in the same place as before, and they pointed out the place where they were stationed and even gave warning that many heavy timber stakes had been driven in at certain places so that should the launches turn to flight before the piraguas they would get impaled upon the stakes, and their crews would be carried off and killed. When Cortés had received this warning, he got six launches ready to go that night and place themselves in some reed beds about a quarter of a league from where the piraguas were in ambush, and [ordered them] to be covered over with branches; so they set out with muffled oars and stayed all the night watching. Very early in the morning Cortés ordered a launch to set out as though it were going in chase of the canoes that went in with the food, and he ordered the two Indian chieftains who had been captured to go in the launch to point out where the piraguas were stationed, so that the launch should go in that direction. At the same time our enemies the Mexicans arranged, as they did the other time, to send out two decoy canoes in the direction of the ambush, pretending to carry supplies, in order to lure the launch to go after them. Thus they had one idea and our people another which was just the same as theirs, and when the launch which the cunning Cortés had sent out saw the canoes which the Indians had sent out as a bait, it went after them and the two canoes behaved as though they were fleeing to land to their ambush and piraguas. Our launch at once pretended that it did not dare to approach the land and turned in retreat, and when the piraguas and many other canoes saw that it had turned round, they came out after it with great fury and rowed as hard as they could and went in pursuit of it, and the

launch went as if in flight to where the other six launches were stationed in ambush, the piraguas still in pursuit. At that moment a gun was fired off which was the signal for our launches to come out; and when they heard the signal they came out with a great spurt and attacked the piraguas and canoes and overturned them and killed and captured many warriors, and the launch that we sent out as a decoy, which had already got some distance off, also returned to assist its companions so that a good prize of prisoners and canoes was carried off, and from that time onward the Mexicans did not dare to lay any more ambuscades nor did they dare to bring in supplies or water so openly as they had been used to do, and in this way the warfare of the launches on the lakes and our battles on the causeways were carried on.

Let me now say that the towns situated in the lake (which I have already named on other occasions) when they saw how day by day we were victorious both on water and on land, and that the people of Chalco, Tlaxcala, Texcoco and other pueblos had made friends with us whilst we continued making war against all of them and doing them much harm and damage, and capturing many of their men and women, apparently all united and decided to sue Cortés for peace and with great humility they asked pardon if in any way they had offended us, and said that they had been under orders and could not do otherwise.[1] Cortés rejoiced greatly to see them come in that way, and when we heard the news in our camp, that of Pedro de Alvarado, and in that of Sandoval, all of us soldiers rejoiced; but to return to my story, Cortés with a pleased countenance and much flattery pardoned them [although he] told them that they deserved to be severely punished

[1] From Cortés's account the submission of these towns appears to have taken place about 18th June.

for having helped the Mexicans. The towns that came in were Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culuacan, and Mixquic and all those of the fresh water lake, and Cortés told them that we should not move the camp until the Mexicans sued for peace or he had destroyed them by war. He ordered them to aid us with all the canoes that they possessed to fight against Mexico, and to come and build ranchos for Cortés and to bring him food, and they replied that they would do so, and they built the ranchos but brought no food or very little and that with ill will. Our ranchos where Pedro de Alvarado was stationed were never rebuilt so we remained in the rain, for those who have been in this country know that through the months of June, July and August it rains every day in these parts.

Let us leave this and return to our causeway and the attacks that we made on the Mexicans every day and how we succeeded in capturing many idol towers, houses canals, and other openings and bridges which they had constructed from house to house, and we filled them all up with adobes and the timbers from the houses that we pulled down and destroyed and we kept guard over them, but notwithstanding all this trouble that we took, they [the enemy] came back and deepened them and widened the openings and erected more barricades. And because our three companies considered it a dishonour that some should be fighting and facing the Mexican squadrons and others should be filling up passes and openings and bridges, Pedro de Alvarado, so as to avoid quarrels as to who should be fighting or filling up openings, ordered that one company should have charge of the filling in and look after that work one day, while the other two companies should fight and face the enemy, and that this should be done in rotation one day one company, and another day another company, until each company should have had its turn, and owing to this arrangement there was nothing captured

that was not razed to the ground, and our friends the Tlaxcalans helped us. So we went on penetrating into the City, but at the hour for retiring all three companies had to fight in union, for that was the time when we ran the greatest risk, and, as I have already related, first of all we sent all the Tlaxcalans off the causeway, for it was clear that they were a considerable embarrassment when we were fighting.

Let us cease speaking of our camp and return to that of Cortés and that of Sandoval which continuously both by day and night had many of the enemy upon them both by land and in fleets of canoes from the lake, and they were always being attacked and could not get rid of their enemies. In the camp of Cortés [the Spaniards endeavoured] to capture a bridge and deep opening which was difficult to take, for the Mexicans had placed many breastworks and barricades there, so that the only way to cross was by swimming, and whenever an attempt was made to cross it, many warriors were ready waiting with arrows and stones from slings and javelins, macanas, two handed swords, and lances made like scythes set with swords that they had taken from us, and the lake was full of war canoes, and from the neighbouring barricades and azoteas they showered down stones and the launches could give no help on account of the stakes that had been placed [there]. In capturing this fort, bridge and opening the troops of Cortés endured great hardships and four soldiers were killed in the fighting, and more than thirty soldiers were wounded, and as it was already late when they effected the capture, they had no time to close up the opening, and they retreated again with great difficulty and danger and with more than thirty soldiers wounded, besides many more Tlaxcalans injured.

Let us leave this and tell of another way in which Guatemoc ordered his companies to fight and for which he

ordered all his forces to be prepared. It happened that as the next day[1] was the feast of the Señor San Juan de Junio, and exactly one year was completed since we entered Mexico (when we came to the relief of Pedro de Alvarado and they defeated us as I have related in the chapter that treats of it), it seems that they had kept count of it, and Guatemoc ordered us to be attacked at all three camps, by all his troops and with all the energy that was possible both on land and by water with canoes, and he ordered them to go by night during the modorra watch; and so that the launches should not be able to assist us, stakes had been placed in most parts of the water of the lake so that the launches might get impaled on them. They came on with so furious an impetus that had it not been for those who were on the watch, who were over one hundred and twenty soldiers well used to fighting, they would have penetrated into our camp, and we ran a great risk as it was, but by fighting in good order we withstood them, and they wounded fifteen of our men and two of them died of their wounds within eight days.

Also in the camp of Cortés they placed our troops in the greatest straits and difficulties and many were killed and wounded, and in the camp of Sandoval the same thing happened, and in this way they came on two successive nights and many Mexicans also were killed in these encounters and many more wounded. When Guatemoc and his captains and priests saw that the attack that they made on those two nights profited them nothing, they decided to come with all their combined forces at the dawn watch and attack our camp, which was called the Tacuba camp, and they came on so fearlessly that they surrounded us on two sides, and had even half

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[1] 24th June. The events must be here misplaced; the 23rd was the day on which Alvarado was defeated as already related.

defeated us and cut us off, when it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to give us strength to turn and close our ranks, and we sheltered ourselves to a certain degree with the launches, and with good cut and thrust, and advancing shoulder to shoulder, we drove them off from us somewhat, and the horsemen were not idle, and the musketeers and crossbowmen did what they could, and were even able to break up other squadrons which had already attacked us on the flanks. In that battle they killed eight and wounded many of our soldiers and they even injured Pedro de Alvarado. If the Tlaxcalans had slept on the causeway that night we should have run great risk from the embarrassment they would have caused us on account of their numbers, but the experience of what had happened before made us promptly get them off the causeway and send them to Tacuba, and we remained free from care. To go back to our battle, we killed many Mexicans and took prisoners four persons of importance. I well understand that interested readers will be surfeited with seeing so many fights every day, but one cannot do less, for during the ninety and three days that we besieged this strong and great City we had war and combats every day and every night as well. For this reason we must recount many times how, when, and in what way they happened; I have not made a chapter of what we accomplished each day, as it seems to me that it would be greatly spinning it out and a matter that could never be brought to an end, like the books of Amadis or of chivalry, and as henceforth I do not wish to waste time in recording so many battles and encounters as we went through, every day, I will relate them as briefly as I can. For when it seemed to us that we were victorious, great disasters were really coming upon us, and we were in the greatest danger of perishing in all three camps, as will be seen later on.

CHAPTER CLII.

About the battles and encounters that we went through and about the defeat that Cortés suffered at his camp, and about many other things that happened in our camp at Tacuba, and how they carried off sixty six soldiers whom they sacrificed.

As Cortés saw that it was impossible to fill in all the openings, bridges, and canals of water that we captured day by day, which the Mexicans reopened during the night and made stronger than they had been before with barricades, and that it was very hard work fighting and filling in bridges and keeping watch all of us together (all the more as we were most of us wounded and twenty had died), he decided to consult his captains and soldiers who were in his camp, that is Cristóbal de Olid, Francisco Verdugo, Andrés de Tápia, the ensign Corral and Francisco de Lugo, and he also wrote to us in the camp of Pedro de Alvarado and to the camp of Sandoval to take the opinion of all us captains and soldiers. The question he asked was, whether it seemed good to us to make an advance into the City with a rush, so as to reach Tlatelolco, which is the great market of Mexico and is much broader and larger than that of Salamanca, and that if we could reach it, whether it would be well to station all our three camps there, as from thence we should be able to fight through the streets of Mexico without having such difficulty in retreating and should not have so much to fill in, or have to guard the bridges. As was likely to happen in such discussions and consultations, some of us said that it was not good advice or a good idea to intrude ourselves so entirely into the heart of the City, but that we should remain as we were, fighting and pulling down and levelling the houses. We who held the latter opinion gave as the most obvious reason for it that if we stationed ourselves in

Tlatelolco and left the causeways and bridges unguarded and deserted the Mexicans—having so many warriors and canoes—would reopen the bridges and causeways and we would no longer be masters of these. They would attack us with their powerful forces by night and day, and as they always had many impediments made with stakes ready prepared our launches would not be able to help us, thus by the plan that Cortés was proposing we would be the besieged and they [the enemy] would have possession of the land, the country and the lake, and we wrote to him about his proposal so that "it should not happen to us as it had happened before" (as the saying of the Mazegatos runs), when we went fleeing out of Mexico.

After Cortés had heard our opinions and the good reasons we gave for them the only result of all the discussion was that on the following day we were to advance with all the energy we could from all three camps, horsemen as well as crossbowmen, musketeers and soldiers and to push forward until [we reached] the great market place at Tlatelolco many times mentioned by me. When all was ready in all the three camps and our friends the Tlaxcalans [had been warned] as well as the people of Texcoco and those from the towns of the lake who had again given their fealty to His Majesty, who were to come with their canoes to help the launches, one Sunday[1] morning, after having heard mass, we set out from our camp with Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés set out for his camp, and Sandoval with his companies, and in full force each company advanced capturing bridges and barricades, and the enemy fought like brave warriors and Cortés on his side gained many victories, so too did Gonzalo de Sandoval on his side. Then we on our side had already captured another barricade and a bridge, which was done

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[1] Sunday, 30th June.

with much difficulty because Guatemoc had great forces guarding them, and we came out of the fight with many of our soldiers wounded, and one soon died of his wounds; and more than a thousand of our Tlaxcalan friends alone came out of it injured, but still we followed up our victory very cheerfully. Let us return to Cortés and all his army and mention that they captured a rather deep water-opening with a small and very narrow causeway across it which the Mexicans had constructed cleverly and cunningly, for they had foreseen the very thing that now happened to Cortés, and that was, that as he and his captains and soldiers were victorious, and the causeway was crowded with allies, they would go on in pursuit of the enemy who, although they pretended to be fleeing, never ceased shooting javelins, arrows and stones and made some slight stands as though they would resist Cortés until they lured him on to follow them. When they saw that he was indeed following up his victory, they pretended to flee before him. Then, as bad fortune turns the wheel and many sorrows follow on the greatest prosperity, while Cortés was going victoriously in the pursuit of the enemy, either through great carelessness on his part (or because Our Lord Jesus Christ allowed it) he and his captains and soldiers omitted to fill in the water-opening[1] which they had captured. This little causeway by which they had passed had, with cunning, been made [by the Mexicans] very narrow, and the water even penetrated through it in places, and there was much mud and mire. When the Mexicans saw him cross that passage without filling it in they wished for nothing better, and for that very event they had got ready great squadrons of warriors with very valiant captains and many canoes on

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[1] In a street between the Calle de Tacuba and the Market of Tlatelolco.

the lake in places where our launches could do them no damage whatever on account of the great stakes which they had fixed there on which they would get impaled. Then there turned upon Cortés and all his soldiers such a furious rush of Mexican squadrons with such cries yells and whistles that our people were not able to withstand the great impetus and force with which they came to fight against Cortés, and all the soldiers and captains and ensigns decided to retreat in very good order, but the enemy came against them with fury until they had driven them to that bad passage, and the allies whom they [the Spaniards] had brought with them, who were very numerous, were so confused that they turned their backs and took to flight without making any resistance. When Cortés saw them thus turning away defeated he encouraged them and cried "Stop, stop Gentlemen, stand firm, what is this that you are doing turning your backs", but he could not check them. Then in that passage which they had neglected to fill up, and on the little causeway which was narrow and unsound, aided by the canoes they [the enemy] defeated Cortés and wounded him in the leg, and they carried off alive sixty six soldiers and killed eight horses. Six or seven Mexican Captains had already seized hold of Cortés, but it pleased Our Lord God to help him and to give him strength to defend himself although he was wounded in one leg, for in the nick of time there promptly came [to his rescue] a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of Old Castile, and as soon as he saw Cortés assailed by so many Indians, this soldier Olea fought so bravely that he quickly killed with sword thrusts four of the captains who had hold of him, and another brave soldier named Lerma also helped. They did so much by their personal bravery that they [the Indian Captains] let go of Cortés, but in defending him Olea lost his life there, and even Lerma was at the point

of death. Many soldiers soon ran to assist and although they were badly wounded they laid hands on Cortés and helped him out of that danger and the mire in which he was then standing, and the quarter master Cristóbal de Olid also came in great haste and they took him [Cortés] by the arms and helped him to get out of the water and the mud and brought him a horse on which he escaped from death. At that moment his mayor-domo named Cristóbal de Guzman also arrived and brought him another horse. Meanwhile the Mexican warriors kept on fighting very fearlessly and successfully from the azoteas greatly to our damage, and they captured Cristóbal de Guzman and carried him alive to Guatemoc. The Mexicans kept following in pursuit of Cortés and all his soldiers until they reached their camp. Even after that disaster had happened and they had reached camp, the Mexican squadrons did not cease following them and hunting them down yelling and calling out much abuse and calling them cowards.

Let us cease speaking about Cortés and his defeat and return to our army, which is that of Pedro de Alvarado, in the City of Tacuba, and [say] how we advanced victoriously, and, when we least expected it, we saw advancing against us with loud yells very many squadrons of Mexicans with very handsome ensigns and plumes, and they cast in front of us five heads streaming with blood which they had just cut off the men whom they had captured from Cortés, and they cried :—"Thus will we kill you as we have killed Malinche and Sandoval, and all whom they had brought with them, and these are their heads and by them you may know them well", and saying these words they closed in on us until they laid hands on us and neither cut nor thrust nor crossbows nor muskets availed to stop them, all they did was to rush at us as at a mark. Even so we lost nothing of our order in retreating, for we at once

commanded our friends the Tlaxcalans to clear off quickly from the causeways and bad passages, and this time they did it with a will, for when they saw the five heads of our companions dripping with blood and heard the Mexicans say that they had killed Malinche and Sandoval and all the Teules whom they had brought with them, and that so they would do to us also and to the Tlaxcalans, they were thoroughly frightened, thinking it was true, and for this reason, I say, they cleared off the causeway very completely.

Let us go back to say that as we were retreating we heard the sound of trumpets from the great Cue, (where stand the idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca) which from its height dominates the whole City, and also a drum, a most dismal sound indeed it was, like an instrument of demons, as it resounded so that one could hear it two leagues off, and with it many small tambourines and shell trumpets, horns and whistles. At that moment, as we afterwards learnt, they were offering the hearts of ten of our comrades and much blood to the idols that I have mentioned.

Let us leave the sacrifice and return to our retreat and the great attack they made on us both from the causeway and from the azoteas and the canoes on the lake. Simultaneously there came against us many squadrons which Guatemoc had newly sent out, and he ordered his horn to be sounded. When this horn was sounded it was a signal that his captains and warriors must fight so as to capture their enemies or die in the attempt, and the sound that it made echoed in their ears, and when his captains and squadrons heard it, the fury and courage with which they threw themselves on us, in order to lay hold of us, was terrifying, and I do not know how to describe it here; even now when I stop to remember, it is as though I could see it [all] at this minute, and were

present [again], in that fight and battle. But I reassert that our Lord Jesus Christ saved us, for if he had not given us strength, seeing that we were all wounded, we should never otherwise have been able to reach our ranchos, and I give thanks and praise to God for it, that I escaped that time and many others from the power of the Mexicans.

To go back to our story, the horsemen made charges, and with two heavy cannon that we placed near our ranchos with some loading while others fired we held our own, for the causeway was crowded to the utmost with the enemy and they came after us up to the houses, as though we were already conquered and shot javelins and stones at us, and as I have said, with those cannon we killed many of them. The man who was most helpful that day was a gentleman named Pedro Moreno Medrano, who lives now in Puebla, for he acted as gunner because the artillerymen we used to have with us were some of them dead and the others wounded, and Pedro Moreno besides always being a brave soldier was on that day a great help to us. Being as we were in that condition, thoroughly miserable and wounded, we knew nothing of either Cortés or Sandoval nor of their armies, whether they had been killed or routed, as the Mexicans told us they were when they cast [before us] the five heads which they brought tied together by the hair and the beards, saying that Malinche and all the Teules were already dead, and that thus they were going to kill all of us that very day. We were not able to get news from them because we were fighting half a league apart one from the other, and where they had defeated Cortés was furthest off, and for this very reason we were much distressed, but by all of us both wounded and sound keeping together in a body we held out against the shock of the fury of the Mexicans who came against us, and who did not believe

that there would be a trace of us left after the attack that they made upon us.

Then they had already captured one of our launches and killed three soldiers and wounded the captain and most of the soldiers who were in it, and it was rescued by another launch of which Juan Xaramillo was captain. Yet another launch was impaled in a place from which it could not move, and its captain was Juan de Linpias Caravajal, who went deaf at that time, and now lives in Puebla. He himself fought most valiantly and so encouraged his soldiers, who were rowing the launch that day, that they broke the stakes [on which they were impaled] and got away, all badly wounded, and saved their launch. This Linpias was the first to break the stakes and it was a great thing for all of us.

Let us return to Cortés ; when he and his people were nearly all killed or wounded the Mexican squadrons went towards his camp to attack it, and they even cast before the Soldiers, who were resisting the attack of the Mexicans, four other heads dripping with blood [which were those] of soldiers who had been carried off from Cortés himself, and they said that these were [the heads of] Tonatio, that is of Pedro de Alvarado, and of Sandoval and of Bernal Díaz and other Teules, and that they had already killed all of us who were at Tacuba. Then Cortés was much more depressed than he had been before and tears started from his eyes (and the eyes of all who were with him,) but not to such an extent as to permit them to notice depression or weakness in him. He at once ordered Cristóbal de Olid, who was quarter-master, and his captains to take care that the many Mexicans who were pressing on them did not break into the camp, and to keep both wounded and sound all close together in one body. He sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen post-haste by land, at the risk of their lives, to Tacuba which was our

camp, to find out if we were alive, and, if we were not routed, [to tell us] to keep a good look out in our camp and to form up in one body and to keep watch all together both by day and by night, and what he now sent to order us to do we had already made our custom. The Captain Andrés de Tápia and the three horsemen who came with him made great haste, although Tápia and two of those who came with him were wounded, and they were called Guillen de la Loa and Baldenebro and a Juan de Cuellar, all valiant men. When they reached our camp and found us fighting with the Mexican force which was still close to us, they rejoiced in their hearts and related to us what had happened about the defeat of Cortés and what he had sent to tell us, but they did not care to state that so many were dead, and said that about twenty five [had been killed] and that all the rest were well.

Let us stop talking of this and turn to Sandoval and his captains and soldiers, who marched on victoriously in the part and streets they had captured, and when the Mexicans had defeated Cortés they turned on Sandoval and his army and captains so effectively that he could make no headway, and they killed six soldiers and wounded all whom he had brought with him, and gave him [Sandoval himself] three wounds one in the thigh, another in the head and another in the left arm. While Sandoval was battling with the enemy they placed before him six heads of Cortés's men whom they had killed, and said they were the heads of Malinche and of Tonatio and other Captains, and that they meant so to do with Sandoval and those who were with him, and they attacked him fiercely. When Sandoval saw this he ordered all his captains aad soldiers to show a brave spirit and not be dismayed, and to take care that in retreating there should not be any confusion on the causeway which was narrow, and first of all he ordered his allies, who were numerous, to clear off the

causeway so as not to embarrass him, and with [the help of] his two launches and of his musketeers and crossbowmen, with great difficulty he retired to his quarters, with all his men badly wounded and even discouraged and six of them dead. When he found himself clear of the causeway, although he was surrounded by Mexicans, he encouraged his people and their captains and charged them all to be sure to keep together in a body by day and by night so as to guard the camp and avoid defeat. Then when he learned from the captain Luis Marin, that they were well able to do it, wounded and bound up in rags as he was, he took two other horsemen with him and rode post haste to the camp of Cortés. When Sandoval saw Cortés he said "Oh Sir Captain, what is this? Are these the counsels and stratagems of warfare that you have always impressed on us, how has this disaster happened?" Cortés replied with tears springing to his eyes, "Oh my son Sandoval, for my sins this has been permitted, however I do not deserve as much blame in the matter as all my captains and soldiers impute, but the Treasurer Julian de Alderete to whom I gave the order to fill in that passage where they defeated us, and he did not do it, for he is not used to war nor to receive orders from Captains. Then the treasurer himself answered, for he was there by Cortés and had come to see and speak with Sandoval and to find out if his army was dead or defeated, and he said that Cortés himself was to blame and not he, and the reason he gave was that as Cortés was advancing victoriously and in order to follow up his advantage he cried out "Forward gentlemen" and never ordered them to fill in the bridge or bad passage, and that if he had ordered him to do so, his Captain and the allies would have done it. He also blamed Cortés for not ordering the many allies that he had with him to clear off the causeway in good time, and there were many other discussions and replies from Cortés to the

Treasurer which were spoken in anger, they will be left untold, and I will state how at that moment there arrived two launches which Cortés kept in the lake and by the causeway, and they had not come in nor had anything been known about them since the defeat. It seems that they had been detained and impaled on some stakes, and, according to what the captains reported, they had been kept there surrounded by canoes which attacked them, and they all came in wounded, and said that God in the first place aided them with a wind, and thanks to the great energy with which they rowed they broke the stakes; at this Cortés was well pleased, for up to that time, although he did not publish it so as not to dishearten the soldiers, he knew nothing about the launches and had held them as lost.

Let us leave this and return to Cortés who next strongly advised Sandoval to proceed at once post haste to our camp of Pedro de Alvarado, which was called Tacuba, and see whether we were routed, or how we stood, and if we were alive he should help us to keep up the defence so that they should not break into our camp, and he told Francisco de Lugo who accompanied him (Sandoval) (for he well knew that there were Mexican squadrons on the road), that he had already sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen to get news of us, and he feared that they had been killed on the road. After saying this to him and taking leave of him he went to embrace Sandoval, and said, "Look here, my son, as I am not able to go everywhere, for you can see that I am wounded, I commit this work to your care so that you may inspire confidence in all three camps. I know well that Pedro de Alvarado and all his captains and brothers and soldiers have fought valiantly and acted like gentlemen, but I fear the great forces of these dogs may have defeated him, and as for me and my army, you observe in what condition I am."

Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo came post haste to where we were and when he arrived it was a little after dusk (visperas) and it seems that the defeat of Cortés took place before noon (misa mayor). When Sandoval arrived he found us fighting with the Mexicans who wanted to get into our camp by way of some houses which we had pulled down, and others by the causeway, and many canoes by the lake, and they had already got one launch stranded on the land, and of the soldiers who were in it two were dead and most of them wounded. Sandoval saw me and six other soldiers standing more than waist high in the water helping the launch to get off into deep water, and many Indians attacking us with swords which they had captured from us when Cortés was defeated, and others with broadswords [edged] with [flint] knives and were giving us sword cuts (and they gave me an arrow wound and a sword cut in the leg) so as to prevent us helping the launch, which, judging from the energy they were displaying, they intended to carry off with their canoes. They had attached many ropes to it with which to tow it off and place it inside the City. When Sandoval saw us in that position he said to us "Oh! Brothers put your strength into it and prevent them carrying off the launch" and we exerted so much strength that we soon hauled it out in safety, although as I have said, all of the sailors came out wounded and two dead.

At that time many companies of Mexicans came to the causeway and wounded the horsemen as well as all of us, and they gave Sandoval a good blow with a stone in the face. Then Pedro de Alvarado and other horsemen went to his assistance. As so many squadrons approached I and twenty other soldiers faced them, and Sandoval ordered us to retreat little by little so that they should not kill the horses, and because we did not retreat as quickly as he wished he said to us with fury "Do you wish that

through your selfishness they should kill me and all these horsemen? For the love of me, dear brothers, do fall back", at that moment the enemy again wounded him and his horse. Just then we cleared our allies off the causeway, and [we retreated] little by little keeping our faces [to the enemy] and not turning our backs, as though to form a dam. Some of the crossbowmen and musketeers were shooting and others loading their guns for they did not fire them off all together, and the horsemen made charges, and Pedro Moreno Medrano, already mentioned by me, loaded and fired his cannon, yet, notwithstanding the number of Mexicans that the balls were sweeping away, we could not fend them off, on the contrary they kept on following us thinking that this very night they would carry us off to be sacrificed.

When we had retreated near to our quarters and had already crossed a great opening where there was much water, the arrows, javelins and stones could no longer reach us. Sandoval, Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia were standing with Pedro de Alvarado each one relating what had happened to him and what Cortés had ordered, when again there was sounded the dismal drum of Huichilobos and many other shells and horns and things like trumpets and the sound of them all was terrifying, and we all looked towards the lofty Cue where they were being sounded, and saw that our comrades whom they had captured when they defeated Cortés were being carried by force up the steps, and they were taking them to be sacrificed. When they got them up to a small square in [front of] the oratory, where their accursed idols are kept, we saw them place plumes on the heads of many of them and with things like ıans [in their hands?] they forced them to dance before Huichilobos, and after they had danced they immediately placed them on their backs on some rather narrow stones which had

been prepared as [places for] sacrifice, and with stone knives they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts and offered them to the idols that were there, and they kicked the bodies down the steps, and Indian butchers who were waiting below cut off the arms and feet and flayed [the skin off] the faces, and prepared it afterwards like glove leather with the beards on, and kept those for the festivals when they celebrated drunken orgies, and the flesh they ate in *chilmole*. In the same way they sacrificed all the others and ate the legs and arms and offered the hearts and blood to their idols, as I have said, and the bodies, that is their entrails and feet, they threw to the tigers and lions which they kept in the house of the carnivores which I have spoken about in an earlier chapter.

When we saw those cruelties all of us in our camp and Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval and all the other captains (let the interested readers who peruse this, note what ills we suffered from them [the Mexicans]) said the one to the other "thank God that they are not carrying me off to day to be sacrificed."

It should also be noted that we were not far away from them, yet we could render them no help, and could only pray God to guard us from such a death.

Then, at the moment that they were making the sacrifices, great squadrons of Mexicans fell on us suddenly and gave us plenty to do on all sides and neither in one way or the other could we prevail against them.

And they cried:—"Look, that is the way in which you will all have to die, for our gods have promised it to us many times." Then the words and threats which they said to our friends the Tlaxcalans were so injurious and evil that they disheartened them, and they threw them roasted legs of Indians and the arms of our soldiers and cried to them:—"Eat of the flesh of these Teules and

of your brothers for we are already glutted with it, and you can stuff yourselves with this which is over, and observe that as for the houses which you have destroyed, we shall have to bring you to rebuild them much better with white stone and well worked masonry, so go on helping the Teules, for you will see them all sacrificed."

There was another thing that Guatemoc ordered to be done when he won that victory, he sent to all the towns of our allies and friends and to their relations, the hands and feet of our soldiers and the flayed faces with the beards, and the heads of the horses that they had killed, and he sent word that more than half of us were dead and he would soon finish us off, and he told them to give up their friendship [with us] and come to Mexico and if they did not give it up promptly, he would come and destroy them, and he sent to tell them many other things to induce them to leave our camp and desert us, and then we should be killed by his hands.

As they still went on attacking us both by day and by night, all of us in our camp kept watch together, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado and the other captains keeping us company during our watch, and although during the night great companies of warriors came [against us] we withstood them. Both by day and night half the horsemen remained in Tacuba and the other half were on the causeway.

There was another greater evil that they did us; no matter how carefully we had filled in [the water spaces] since we advanced along the causeway, they returned and opened them all and constructed barricades stronger than before. Then our friends of the cities of the lake who had again accepted our friendship and had come to aid us with their canoes believed that they "came to gather wool and went back shorn" for many of them lost their lives and many more returned wounded, and they lost more than

half of the canoes they had brought with them, but, even with all this, thenceforward they did not help the Mexicans, for they were hostile to them, but they carefully watched events as they happened.

Let us cease talking about misfortunes and once again tell about the caution, and the manner of it, that from now on we exercised, and how Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia and Julio de Cuellar and Baldenebro and the other soldiers who had come to our camp thought it would be well to return to their posts and to give a report to Cortés as to how and in what position we stood. So they went post haste and told Cortés that Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers were using great caution both in fighting as well as in keeping watch, and moreover Sandoval, as he considered me a friend, said to Cortés that he had found me and the soldiers fighting more than waist high in water defending a stranded launch, and that if it had not been for us they [the enemy] would surely have killed the captain and soldiers who were on board, and because he said other things in my praise about when he ordered me to retreat, I am not going to repeat them here for other persons told of it, and it was known throughout the camp of Cortés and in our own, but I do not wish to recite it here. When Cortés clearly understood the great caution that we observed in our camp it greatly eased his heart, and from that time onwards he ordered all three camps not to fight with the Mexicans either too much or too little, meaning that we were not to trouble about capturing any bridge or barricade, and, except in defence of our camps, we were not to go out to fight with the enemy.

Nevertheless the day had hardly dawned when they were attacking our camp discharging many stones from slings, and javelins and arrows and shouting out hideous abuse, and as we had near the camp a very broad and

deep opening of water we remained for four days in succession without crossing it. Cortés remained as long in his camp and Sandoval in his. This determination, not to go out and fight and endeavour to capture the barricades which they [the Mexicans] had returned to open and fortify, was because we were all badly wounded and worn out with hardships, both from keeping watch and bearing arms without anything sustaining to eat; and because we had lost the day before over sixty and odd soldiers from all the camps, and eight horses and so that we might obtain some rest, and take mature counsel as to what should be done. From that time onwards Cortés ordered us to remain quiet, as I have said, so I will leave off here and tell how and in what way we fought and everything else that happened in our camp.

CHAPTER CLIII.

About the way in which we fought, and the many attacks that the Mexicans made on us, and the parleys we had with them, and how our allies left us and went to their towns, and many other things that happened.

OUR method of fighting in all three camps was as follows:—All the soldiers kept watch on the causeways together with our launches on either side, half the horsemen went the rounds in Tacuba, where the bread was made for us and where we kept our baggage, and the other half guarded the bridges and the causeway. Early in the morning we prepared our arms to fight with the enemy, who tried to penetrate into our camp and endeavoured to defeat us, and they acted in the same way at the camp of Cortés and of Sandoval. This lasted only during five days for then we adopted another plan which I will speak about later on. Let me tell now how

the Mexicans offered great sacrifice and celebrated festivals every night at their great Cue at Tlatelolco and sounded their cursed drum, trumpets, kettle drums and shells, and uttered yells and howls, and kept many bonfires of burning wood going all night long. Then they sacrificed our comrades to their accursed Huichilobos and Tescatepuca whom they consulted, and inasmuch as they are evil, they replied so as to delude them and prevent their making peace, inducing them to believe that on the morning following that very night they were sure to kill all of us and the Tlaxcalans and all others who might come to our assistance. When our allies heard this they believed it to be true because they had seen us defeated and saw that we were not fighting as we used to do.

Let us leave these sayings that came from their accursed idols and relate that in the morning many regiments came to surround us and attack us, and they relieved one another from time to time, some with one kind of device and plumes and distinguishing marks and then others with a different uniform. Then when we were fighting with them they shouted many insults calling us cowards, and good-for-nothings, neither for making houses nor plantations of maize; and that we only came to plunder their city and were evil men fleeing from our own country and king and master. This they said on account of what Narvaez had sent to tell them, that we had come without the permission of our King, as I have stated in the chapter that deals with that matter. They further said that within eight days not one of us would remain alive, for so, last night, their Gods had promised them, and they said many other bad words to us, and last of all they exclaimed "Look what rogues and villains you are, even your flesh is bad to eat, it is as bitter as gall and we cannot swallow it so bitter is it." It seems that they had satiated themselves during those days on the flesh of our soldiers and comrades

and possibly our Lord had willed their flesh to turn bitter. If they used abusive language to us they treated our friends the Tlaxcalans much worse and threatened to keep them as slaves for sacrifice and for planting their crops and rebuilding the houses they had destroyed, and that they would have to make them of well laid masonry for this their Huichilobos had promised them. After they had said this, how fearlessly they fought and approaching by way of some houses that had been pulled down, and in the many canoes that they possessed, they took us in the rear and sometimes they had us even cut off on the causeway, but our Lord supported us every day, for our own strength alone was insufficient. Still we sent back many of them wounded and others fell dead. Let us cease speaking of these great attacks which they made on us and say how our friends, the people of Tlaxcala and Cholula and Huexotzingo and even those of Texcoco and Chalco and Tlamanalco, decided to return to their own Countries, and nearly all of them went off without Cortés or Pedro de Alvarado or Sandoval knowing about it. There only remained in Cortés camp Ixlilxochitl,[1] who was afterwards baptized and named Don Carlos (he was the brother of Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco and was a very valiant man) and about forty of his relations and friends In Sandoval's camp there remained another cacique from Huexotzingo with about fifty men, and in our camp there remained two sons of Lorenzo de Vargas and the brave Chichimecatecle with about eighty Tlaxcalans, his relations and vassals. When we found ourselves alone[2] with so few allies we were distressed, and Cortés and Sandoval each of

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[1] Este Suchel in the text.

[2] Bernal Díaz must have been misinformed as to the number of the allies in the three camps ; had they been as few as he states Cortés could not have ventured to despatch the expedition under Andrés de Tápia only a few days later.

them asked the allies that remained in his camp, why the others had gone off in that way, and they replied that they had observed Mexicans speaking with their Idols during the night who promised them that they should kill us, and they believed it to be true; so it was through fear that they left, and what made it more credible was seeing us all wounded and many of us dead, and of their own people more than twelve hundred were missing, and they feared that we should all be killed. Moreover Xicotenga the younger, whom Cortés had ordered to be hanged on the confines of Texcoco, had always told them that he knew by his magic that they [the Mexicans] would kill all of us and not leave one of them alive. These were the reasons why they went off and although Cortés in private showed how it weighed upon him, yet he told them with a cheerful countenance to have no fear, for what the Mexicans had told them was a lie to make them lose heart, and he made so many promises to them in affectionate terms that he gave them courage to stay with him, and we said the like to Chichimecatecle and to the two youthful Xicotengas. In those conversations which Cortés had with Ixlilxochitl, who as I have already said was called Don Carlos, for he was Lord over his people and a brave man, he replied to Cortés "Señor Malinche, do not be distressed because you cannot fight every day with the Mexicans, get your foot well, and take my advice, and that is to stay some days in your camp, and tell Tonatio (Pedro de Alvarado for so they called him) to do the same and stay in his camp and Sandoval in Tepeaquilla, and keep the launches on the move night and day to prevent supplies of provisions or water from getting to them, [the enemy] for there are within this great City so many thousand *xiquipeles*[1] of warriors that they must of necessity eat up the food that

[1] A division numbering 8,000 men.

they possess, and the water they are now drinking is from some springs they have made, and it is half salt, and as it rains every day and sometimes at night they catch the water and live on that, but what can they do if you stop their food and water? They will suffer more from hunger and thirst than from war." When Cortés understood this advice he threw his arms round him and thanked him for it and made him promises that he would give him pueblos. This advice many of us soldiers had already discussed, but, such is our nature, that we did not wish to wait so long a time, but to advance into the city. When Cortés had well considered what the cacique had said (although we had already sent to say the same thing on our own account, and the captains and soldiers had said it on theirs) he ordered two launches to go to our camp and to that of Sandoval to tell us that he ordered us to remain another three days without advancing into the city. As at that time the Mexicans were victorious he did not dare to send out one launch alone and this was the reason why he sent two, and there was one thing that helped us much, which was that our launches now ventured to break the stakes that the Mexicans had placed in the lake to impale them, and they did it in this way, they rowed with all their strength, and so that the rowing should carry greater impetus they set about it from some distance back and got wind into their sails and rowed their best, so they were masters of the lake and even of a good many houses that stood apart from the city, and when the Mexicans saw this they lost some of their courage.

Let us leave this and return to our battles; now, as we had no allies, we ourselves began to fill in and stop up the great opening that, I have said before, was near our camp, and the first company on the rota worked hard at carrying adobes and timber to fill it in, while the other two companies did the fighting, (I have said

before we had arranged that it should go in rotation) and in the four days that all of us worked at it we had it filled in and levelled. Cortés did the same in his camp where the same arrangement prevailed, and even he himself was at work carrying adobes and timber, until the bridges and causeways and openings were secure so that a retreat could be effected in safety; and Sandoval did neither more nor less in his camp. With our launches close by us, and free from any fear of stakes we advanced in this manner little by little.

Let us return to the great squadrons which continually attacked us, and very bravely and victoriously came to fight us hand to hand. From time to time some squadrons retired and others came on. Then to tell of the yells and shouts that they uttered, and at that moment the horn of Guatemoc would resound and then they pressed on us so hotly that the sword cuts and thrusts which we gave them availed us nothing, and they tried to lay hands on us. As, after God, we had to rely on our own good fighting we held out very stoutly against them, and with the muskets and crossbows and charges by the horsemen, half of whom were continually with us, and with [the help of] the launches which no longer feared the stakes, we held them at bay, and little by little we went on advancing, and in this way we went on fighting until near night time, which was the time to retreat. Then, when we were retreating, it had to be done, as I have said before, with great caution, for that was the time when they endeavoured to cut us off on the causeway and the bad passages, and if they had sometimes attempted it before, in these days after their late victory they set about it much more energetically, and I declare that in three places they had broken through us, but it pleased our Lord God that, although they wounded many of us, we closed our ranks and we killed and captured many of the enemy. We had no allies to be

sent off from the causeway, and the horsemen helped us valiantly, although in that skirmish and combat two of their horses were wounded, [nevertheless] we returned badly wounded to our camp where we treated our hurts with oil and bound them up with cloths and ate our tortillas with red peppers and herbs and tunas, and then all went on watch.

Let me say now what the Mexicans did during the night on their great and lofty Cues, and that was to sound the cursed drum, which I again declare had the most accursed sound and the most dismal that it was possible to invent, and the sound carried far over of the country, and they sounded other worse instruments and diabolical things, and they made great fires and uttered the loudest yells and whistles, for at that moment they were sacrificing our comrades whom they had captured from Cortés and we knew that it took them ten days in succession to complete the sacrificing of all our soldiers, and they left to the last Cristóbal de Guzman whom they kept alive for twelve or thirteen days, according to the report of the three Mexican captains whom we captured. Whenever they sacrificed them then their Huichilobos spoke to them and promised them victory, and that we should die by their hands within eight days and told them to make vigorous attacks on us although many should die in them and in this way he kept them deluded.

Let us leave their sacrifice, and say once more that as soon as another day dawned all the greatest forces that Guatemoc could collect were already down upon us, and as we had filled up the opening and causeway and bridge they could pass it dryshod. My faith! They had the daring to come up to our ranchos and hurl javelins and stones and arrows, but with the cannon we could always make them draw off, for Pedro Moreno who had charge of the cannon did much damage to the enemy.

I wish to say that they shot our own arrows at us from crossbows, for while they held five crossbowmen alive and Cristóbal de Guzman with them, they made them load the crossbows and show them how they were to be discharged, and either they or the Mexicans discharged those shots deliberately, but they did no harm with them.

In the same way as they fought with us, and even more vigorously, they fought with Cortés and with Sandoval, and shot darts at them, but did them no harm, and we knew about this because the launches knew it, which went from our camp to that of Cortés and from Cortés's camp to ours and to that of Sandoval, and he [Cortés] was always writing to us about how we were to fight and all that we were to do, and impressing watchfulness on us, and that half the horsemen should always remain in Tacuba guarding our baggage and the Indian women who made our bread, and that we should take care that they did not break in on us in the night, for some prisoners who had been captured in Cortés's camp reported that Guatemoc was often saying that they would attack by night as we had no Tlaxcalans to help us, for they well knew that all our allies had already left us; and, I have already often said that we were most diligent in keeping watch.

Let us leave this and say that every day we had very hard fights but we did not cease to advance capturing barricades bridges and water openings, and as our launches dared to go where ever they chose in the lake, and did not fear the stakes, they helped us very much. Let me say that as usual the launches that Cortés had at his camp cruised about giving chase to the canoes that were bringing in supplies and water and collecting in the lake a sort of ooze which when it was dried had the flavour of cheese, and these launches brought in many Indian prisoners. Let us turn to the camp of Cortés and to that of Gonzalo de Sandoval, where every day they were conquering and

capturing barricades and causeways and bridges, and in these perils and battles twelve or thirteen days had gone by since the defeat of Cortés. As soon as Ixlilxochitl, the brother of Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco, observed that we had thoroughly recovered ourselves, and what the Mexicans said that they were sure to kill us within ten days was not true (which was what their Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca had promised them,) he sent to advise his brother Don Fernando to send to Cortés, at once, the whole force of warriors that he could muster in Texcoco, and within two days of the time of his sending to tell him, more than two thousand warriors arrived. I remember Pedro Sánchez Farfan and Antonio de Villa Real, who was the husband of Isabel de Ojeda, came with them, for Cortés had left those two soldiers in that City. Pedro Sánchez Farfan was a captain and Villa Real was the tutor to Don Fernando, and when Cortés saw such a good reinforcement he was greatly delighted and said flattering words to them. At that time many Tlaxcalans with their captains also returned and a cacique from Topeyanco named Tepaneca came as their general. Many Indians also came from Huexotzingo and a very few from Cholula. When Cortés knew that they had returned he ordered that all of them, as they arrived, should come to his camp so that he could speak to them. Before they arrived he ordered guards of our soldiers to be placed on the roads to protect them, in case the Mexicans should come out to attack them. When they came before Cortés he made them a speech through Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar and told them that they had fully understood and knew for certain about the good will with which he had always regarded them and still bore them, both because they had served his Majesty, as well as for the good offices that we had received at their hands, and if he had, after reaching this city, commanded them to join

us in destroying the Mexicans, he intended them to profit by it, and return to their land rich men, and to revenge themselves on their enemies, and not that we should capture that great City solely for his benefit, and although he had always found them useful and they had helped us in everything, they must have seen clearly that we ordered them off the causeways every day, because we were less hampered when we fought without them, and that he who gave us victory and aided us in everything was Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe and whom we worship as he had already often told them and warned them at other times. Because they went away at the most critical time of the war they were deserving of death, for deserting their captains when they were fighting and for forsaking them, but as they did not understand our laws and ordinances he pardoned them, and in order to understand it [the situation] better they should observe that without their help we still continued destroying houses and capturing barricades. From that time forward he ordered them not to kill any Mexicans, for he wished to conquer them by kindness. When he had made this speech to them he embraced Chichimecatecle and the two youthful Xicotengas, and Ixlilxochitl, the brother of Don Fernando, and promised to give them territory and vassals in addition to what they now held. He esteemed highly those who had remained in our camp and he also spoke very kindly to Tecapaneca the Lord of Topeyanco and to the Caciques of Huexotzingo and Cholula who were usually stationed in the camp of Sandoval. After the conversation with them as I have related he ordered them to depart, and each one went to his camp.

Let us return to our great warfare that was always going on and the attacks they made on us, and as every day and night we did nothing but fight, and retreat in the afternoon, they wounded many of our soldiers. I will omit

relating in full all that happened, and wish to say that during those days it rained in the afternoon, and we were delighted when the rain storms came early for as the enemy got wet they did not fight so fiercely, and allowed us to retreat in safety and in this way we got some rest. Because I am tired of writing about battles (and I was even more tired and wounded when I was present at them) it will appear to my readers prolix to tell about them so many times, but as I have already said, I could do no less, for during ninety three days[1] we were fighting all the time, but from now on, if it may be excused, I will not call them so often to my mind in this story.

Let us then return to our story, as from all three camps we were advancing into the City, Cortés on his side, Sandoval on his and Pedro de Alvarado on our side, we reached the spot where the spring was, that I have already spoken about, where they drank the brackish water, and we broke it up and destroyed it so that they might not make use of it. Some Mexicans were guarding it and we had a good skirmish with javelins, stones, and arrows and many long lances with which they were waiting for the horses, but we could already move freely through all parts of the streets we had captured, for they were already levelled and free from water and openings and the horses could move very easily.

Let us cease talking of this and relate how Cortés sent messengers to Guatemoc begging him to make peace, and it was in the way I will go on to relate.

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[1] This count cannot be correct.

CHAPTER CLIV.

How Cortés sent three Mexican chieftains, who had been taken prisoners in the recent battles, to beg Guatemoc to make peace with us, and what Guatemoc replied, and what else happened.

As soon as Cortés saw that we were capturing many bridges, causeways and barricades in the City and were destroying the houses, he ordered three Mexican captains, persons of importance whom he held as prisoners, to go and speak to Guatemoc and induce him to make peace with us. These chieftains replied that they did not dare to go with such a message for their Lord Guatemoc would order them to be killed. However after further conversation Cortés begged them so [earnestly] that what with the promises that he made them, and the cloths he gave them they decided to set out. What he ordered them to tell Guatemoc was, that he had a great regard for him as so near a relation of his friend the great Montezuma, and being married to his daughter, and moreover it was a pity that so great a city should be totally destroyed, and in order to avoid the great slaughter that took place every day among its inhabitants and their neighbours, he begged him to make peace, and, in the name of His Majesty, he [Cortés] would pardon all the deaths and damage they had inflicted on us and would do them many favours. Let them remember that he had already sent this message four times, and that he [Guatemoc] owing to his youth, and through his counsellors, and principally on account of his accursed idols and priests who gave him evil advice, had not wished to agree to make peace but [preferred] to make war on us ; but he had already seen how many deaths had resulted from the battles they had fought against us, and that we had on our side all the cities and pueblos throughout the district, and that every day new ones were rising

against him, and he condoled with him on such loss of vassals and cities. He also sent to say that we knew they had exhausted their provisions, and had no more water, and [he sent] many other messages well expressed. The three chieftains understood it all very clearly through our interpreters, and asked Cortés for a letter, not because the letter would be understood, but because they already knew clearly that when we sent a message or some thing that we were commanding them [to do] it was [through] a paper, (the same as they call Amales), as a sign that it was a command.

When the three messengers appeared before their Lord Guatemoc, with tears and great sobs they told him what Cortés had ordered them, and Guatemoc when he heard it in the presence of the Captains that were with him, as we afterwards learned, was in a rage with them for daring to come with those messages. Now Guatemoc was a youth, and a very excellent man for an Indian, of a good disposition and a cheerful countenance, and of a colour that inclined more to white than to the tint of an Indian, he was twenty five or twenty six years old and was married to a very handsome woman the daughter of his uncle the great Montezuma, and as we afterwards got to know he was inclined to make peace. In order to discuss the matter, he ordered all his chieftains and captains and the priests of the idols to assemble, and he told them that he had no wish to fight against Malinche and all of us. The discourse that he made about it to them was, that he had already tried everything that he could do in the war and had changed his manner of fighting many times, but we were of such a nature that when they thought that they held us conquered we turned the more vigorously against them, and he knew about the great host of allies who had lately joined us and that all the cities were against them, and that the launches had already broken through the stakes

and the horsemen were galloping through all the streets of his City. He placed before them many other disadvantages that they experienced both about food and water, and he begged or ordered each one of them to give his opinion, and the priests also were to give theirs and to state what they had heard the Gods Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca say and promise. No one was to have any fear of speaking the truth about what he felt. It appears that they replied "Señor and our great Lord, we already have thee for our king and the government is well exercised by thee, then in everything thou hast shown thyself manful, and the kingdom comes to thee by right; the peace that thou speakest of as good is imaginary, now just reflect how ever since these Teules entered this land and this city we have gone from bad to worse, think of the benefits and presents thy uncle the great Montezuma bestowed upon them, of the end thy cousin Cacamatzin came to, and consequently of what became of thy relations the lords of Iztapalapa, Coyoacan, Tacuba and Talatzingo, and of the sons of our great Montezuma, they are all dead, all the gold and riches of this City have been wasted and thou seest already that they have made slaves and branded the faces of all thy subjects and vassals at Chalco and Tepeaca and even at Texcoco and of all thy cities and pueblos. Consider first what thy Gods have promised thee and take good advice about it, and place no trust in Malinche and his words; it is better that we should all die in this city than see ourselves in the power of those who would make slaves of us and torture us for gold."

At that moment the priests also announced that three nights in succession, when they sacrificed to their idols, they had promised them victory. Then Guatemoc said rather angrily, "If you will have it so, take good care of the maize and supplies that we possess, and we will all die fighting, and from now on let no one be rash enough to

ask for peace for I will order him to be killed." Then and there all promised to fight day and night or die in defence of the City.

When this was settled they made arrangements with the people of Xochimilco and other towns to bring water in canoes by night, and they opened other springs in places where there was water although it was somewhat brackish.

Let us stop talking about their plans and say that Cortés and all of us remained two days without advancing into their city while we waited for a reply, and, when we least expected it great squadrons of Indian warriors came against all three camps and made fierce war upon us, and they fell on us like brave lions thinking to carry us off vanquished. What I here relate took place on our side, that of Pedro de Alvarado, and on those of Cortés and Sandoval they also say that they [the enemy] came to their camps [in a way] that they could not resist in spite of the number of them that they killed and wounded, and whilst they [the enemy] were fighting the horn of Guatemoc was sounded and then we had to close up so that they should not rout us, for as I have said before, they impaled themselves on the points of our swords and lances so as to lay hands on us. As we already were used to these encounters, for every day they killed and wounded some of us, we held our own against them hand to hand, and in this manner they fought for six or seven days in succession, and we killed and wounded many of them and for all that, they cared nothing about death.

I remember that they said to us "Why does Malinche go about every day asking us to make peace, as for us, our Idols have already promised us victory and we have plenty of food and water and we are not going to leave any of you alive, so do not talk any more about peace, such talk is for women and arms are for men." And after saying this they came upon us one and all like

mad dogs, and we fought until night separated us and then, as I have said, we retreated with great caution for great companies of them came following after us. We got our allies off the causeway, for many more of them had come than there were before, and we retired to our huts and at once went on guard all of us together, and we supped while keeping watch, as I have often related before, and by early dawn we were fighting again, for they did not give us much rest.

In this way we held out for many days, and while it went on another bad change took place, and it was that an army got together from the three provinces called Mataltzingo and Malinalco and some other towns called . . . . (I cannot now remember the name of them, but they were eight or ten leagues distant from Mexico) ready to fall upon us while we were fighting with the Mexicans and attack us in the rear and in our camps so that when the Mexican forces could sally out, and with one force on one side and the other force on the other, they thought that they would rout us. As other discussions took place, I will go on to say what happened about it.

CHAPTER CLV.

How Guatemoc had arranged with the provinces of Mataltzingo and Tulapa and Malinalco and other pueblos to come to his assistance and make an attack on our camp, which is that of Tacuba, and on that of Cortés, and how the whole force of Mexico would sally out while they were fighting with us and would attack us on the flank, and what was done about it.

So that this may be clearly understood it is necessary to go back and speak of the time following the defeat of Cortés, when they carried off sixty and odd soldiers to be sacrificed, and I may as well say sixty eight for they

amounted to that number when they were carefully counted. I have also said that Guatemoc sent the heads of the horses and the faces which they had flayed and the hands and feet of our soldiers whom they had sacrificed, to many pueblos and to Mataltzingo and Malinalco and Tulapa, and he sent them word that more than half of our people were already dead, and he begged them, in order that they might kill every one of us, to come and help him and to attack our camps by day or night so that we should be forced to fight and defend ourselves, and while we were fighting they would come out from Mexico and attack us on the other side, so they would conquer us and capture many of us for sacrifice to their idols and [be able] to satiate themselves on our bodies. He sent to say this in such a manner that they believed it and took it to be true. Moreover Guatemoc had many relations on his mother's side in Mataltzingo and in Tulapa, and when they saw the faces and heads of our soldiers that I have spoken about, and heard what he sent to tell them, they promptly set to work to get together all the forces they could raise to come in aid of Mexico and their relation Guatemoc. They actually were already on their way against us, and on the road they passed three pueblos of our allies, and they began to attack them and to rob their farms and maize fields and to kill children for sacrifice. These pueblos sent post haste to let Cortés know about it, so that he might send them help and assistance, and he at once sent Andrés de Tápia with twenty horsemen and one hundred soldiers and many Tlaxcalan allies to succour them effectively, and they made them (the enemy) retire to their pueblos and then came back to camp, at which Cortés was much pleased.

In the same manner and at the same moment there came other messengers from the town of Cuernavaca to claim assistance, for these same people of Mataltzingo

and Malinalco and Tulapa and other provinces were coming down upon them, and [they begged Cortés] to send help. For this purpose he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval with twenty horsemen and eighty soldiers, the soundest that were in all three camps, and many of our allies. God knows that those left behind ran great personal risk in all three camps, for nearly all were wounded and they had no comforts whatever with which to refresh themselves.

A great deal might be said about what Sandoval did and how he defeated the enemy, but I must omit saying more than that he returned very quickly to the relief of his camp (that of Sandoval), and that we brought with us two chieftains of Mataltzingo, and left them (the pueblos) more peaceful than before. That expedition was of great advantage, on the one hand in preventing our friends from receiving more damage than they had already received, on the other in preventing them [the enemy] from coming to our camps to attack us as they had set out to do, and, furthermore, in showing Guatemoc and his captains that they could no longer look for help or favour from those provinces, or say (when they were fighting with us,) that they were going to kill us with the help of Mataltzingo and the other provinces as their idols had promised them.

Let us cease talking of this expedition and the assistance that Sandoval rendered and turn to relate how Cortés sent to Guatemoc to beg him to make peace and he would pardon all that had passed, and to tell him that the king our Master had lately sent to order him not to complete the destruction of the city, and for this reason during the past five days he had not attacked nor entered it fighting. Let him (Guatemoc) observe that he no longer had any supplies of food nor water and that more than two thirds of the City were levelled with the ground, and, as to the help that he expected from Mataltzingo, let

him enquire from those two chieftains whom he [Cortés] now sent to him and what had happened to them on their expedition. He also sent to tell him other things [in the nature] of many promises. There went with these two messengers the two Indians from Mataltzingo and six Mexican chieftains who had been taken prisoners in the late battles. When Guatemoc saw the prisoners from Mataltzingo and learned from them what had happened he would give them no answer beyond telling them to return to their pueblo and leave Mexico at once.

Let us leave the messengers: The Mexicans promptly sallied out on three sides with the greatest fury that we had seen up to this time, and fell upon us in all three camps and made a fierce war upon us, and as we wounded and killed a great many of them it seemed to me as if they wished to die fighting. Then when they were pressing on us most fiercely, fighting hand to hand (they killed ten of our soldiers whose heads they cut off) . . . . . that they had . . . . . and said to us "Quitlenquitoa rrey castilla quitlenquitoa" which means to say in their language, which is the same as they speak to-day, "The King of Castille" and with these words they began to shoot javelins and stones and arrows which covered the ground and causeway. Let us leave this, for we were already advanceing and capturing a large part of the City, and we noticed that although the enemy were fighting very manfully fewer squadrons than usual came in relief, and they no longer opened canals or [broke down] causeways; but another thing they most certainly did, which is that at the time when we retired they followed us until they could lay hands on us. I also wish to say that we had already finished our powder in all three camps, and just then a ship had arrived at Villa Rica belonging to the fleet of a licenciate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, which was lost or destroyed in the Island of Florida, and this ship made that

port and some soldiers and powder and crossbows came in it. The lieutenant who was in Villa Rica, named Rodrigo Rangel, who was in charge of Narvaez, promptly sent the powder, crossbows and soldiers to Cortés.

Let us get back to our conquest, so as to be concise; Cortés settled with all the other captains and soldiers that we should push forward into the City as far as we were able until we reached Tlatelolco, which is the great market place where there were seven lofty Cues and Oratories, and Cortés on his side, and Gonzalo de Sandoval from his, and we from ours advanced capturing bridges and barricades. Cortés advanced to a little plaza where there were some oratories and small towers,[1] and in one of the houses there were some beams set upright and on them many of the heads of our Spaniards whom they had killed and sacrificed during the recent battles, and their hair and beards had grown much longer than when they were alive, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it. I recognized three soldiers as my comrades, and when we saw them in that condition it saddened our hearts. At that time we left them where they were, but twelve days later they were removed, and we took those and other heads that had been offered to the idols and we buried them in a church that we made, which is now called The Martyrs near the bridge named El Salto de Alvarado (Alvarado's leap.)

Let us stop speaking about this and say that the ten Companies of Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting and reached Tlatelolco, and there were so many Mexicans guarding their Idols and lofty cues, and they had raised so many barricades that we were fully two hours before we were able to capture them and get inside. Now that the horses had space to gallop, although most of them were

[1] Zacaculco, now the church of Sta. Ana, 26th July.

wounded, they helped us very much, and the horsemen speared many Mexicans. As the enemy were so numerous the ten[1] companies were divided into three parts to fight against them, and Pedro de Alvarado ordered the company commanded by a captain named Gutierre de Badajoz to ascend the lofty Cue of Huichilobos which has one hundred and fourteen steps, and he fought very well against the enemy and against the many priests who were in the houses of the oratories, but the enemy attacked Gutierre Badajoz and his company in such a way that they sent him rolling down ten or twelve steps, and we promptly went to his assistance.

Let us leave the combat in which we were engaged with many of the enemy ; as we advanced the squadrons with which we were fighting followed us, and we ran great risk of our lives, but nevertheless we ascended the steps which as I have said before were one hundred and fourteen in number. It is as well to mention here the great danger we were in, both one [company] and the other, in capturing those fortresses which I have already said many times were very lofty, and in those battles they once more wounded us all very badly, nevertheless we set them [the oratories] on fire and burned the idols, and we planted our banners and were fighting on the level after we had set fire [to the oratories] until night time, but we could do nothing against so many warriors.

Let us stop speaking about it and say that Cortés and his captains saw the next day, (from where they were fighting on their side, in other districts and streets far from the lofty cue,) by the sudden blaze of flame, that the great Cue was burning, for it had not been extinguished, and on seeing our banners on the top he was greatly rejoiced, and

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[1] In the text "dos capitanias" evidently a mistake for "diez capitanias" as above.

he wished that he also was there, and they even say that he was envious, but he could not have done it, for it was a quarter of a league from one place to the other, and there were many bridges and water openings to be captured, and wherever he turned they made fierce attacks on him, and he could not advance as quickly as he wished into the heart of the City, as we of Alvarado's (company) had done. However, within four days both Cortés and Sandoval joined us, and we could go from one camp to the other along the streets over the houses that had been pulled down and the bridges, barricades, and water openings, now all filled in.

At this time Guatemoc and all his warriors were retreating to a part of the City within the lake for the houses and palaces in which he had lived were already levelled to the ground, but with all this they never ceased to turn out every day to attack us, and when it was time for us to retire they followed us up closer than ever. When Cortés saw this, and that many days passed and they did not sue for peace, and had no thought of doing so, he agreed with all our captains that we should form some ambuscades, and this was the way of it. From all three camps we got together about thirty horsemen and one hundred soldiers, the most active and warlike that Cortés could find, and he sent to summon from all three camps one thousand Tlaxcalans, then we placed ourselves in some large houses which had belonged to a Mexican Lord. This was done early in the morning and Cortés made his advance along the streets and causeways with the rest of the horse that were with him, and his soldiers, crossbowmen and musketeers fighting in the usual way and pretending that he was filling in the water openings and bridges. The Mexican squadrons that were ready for the task were already engaged with him, and also many others whom Guatemoc had sent to guard the bridge When

Cortés saw that the enemy were in great numbers, he pretended to retreat and ordered the allies to be got off the causeway, so that they [the enemy] should believe that he was retreating, and they came in pursuit of him, at first slowly but when they saw that he really acted as though he were fleeing, all the troops that were on the causeway rushed after him and attacked him. When Cortés saw that they had passed a little beyond the houses where the ambush was placed, he ordered two shots to be fired close together, which was the signal that we were to sally out of the ambush. The horsemen came out first and then all of us soldiers, and we fell on the enemy as we chose. Then Cortés quickly turned round with his men, and our friends the Tlaxcalans did great damage to the enemy so that many were killed and wounded, and from that time forward they did not follow us when it was time for us to retire. Another ambush was laid for them in the Camp of Pedro de Alvarado, but it came to nothing. On that day I was not present in the Camp of Pedro de Alvarado as Cortés had sent me orders to go to his camp for the ambush.

Let us leave this and say that as we were all of us in Tlatelolco, Cortés ordered all the companies to take up their quarters, and keep watch there, because from our camp we had to come more than half a league from where we were now fighting. So we stayed there three days without doing anything worth mentioning, because Cortés ordered us not to advance any further into the City nor to destroy more houses, for he wished to stop and demand peace. During those days that we were waiting in Tlatelolco Cortés sent to Guatemoc begging him to surrender, and not to have any fear, and with many promises he undertook that his (Guatemoc's) person should be much respected and honoured by him, and that he should govern Mexico and all his territory and cities as

he was used to do, and he sent him food and presents such as tortillas, poultry, tunas and cacao, for he had nothing else to send. Guatemoc took counsel with his captains and what they advised him to reply was that he desired peace but that he would wait three days before giving an answer, and that at the end of three days Guatemoc and Cortés should meet and make arrangements about the peace, and that during those three days they would have time to know more fully the wishes and reply of their Huichilobos, and [he might have added] to mend bridges and to make openings in the causeway and prepare arrows, javelins, and stones and make barricades.

Guatemoc sent four Mexican chieftains with that reply, and we believed that the [promise of] peace was true, and Cortés ordered the messengers to be given plenty to eat and drink and then sent them back to Guatemoc, and with them he sent more refreshments the same as before. Then Guatemoc sent other messengers, and by them two rich mantles, and they said that Guatemoc would come when everything was ready. Not to waste more words about the matter he never intended to come, (for they had counselled him not to believe Cortés and had reminded him of the end of his uncle the great Montezuma, and of his relations, and the destruction of all the noble families of Mexico; [and had advised him] to say that he was ill) but intended that all should sally out to fight and that it would please their Gods to give them the victory they had so often promised them. As we were waiting for Guatemoc and he did not come, we understood their deceit and at that very moment so many batallions of Mexicans with their distinguishing marks sallied out and made an attack on Cortés that he could not withstand it, and as many more went in the direction of our camp and in that of Sandoval's. They came on in such a way that it seemed as though they had just then

begun the fighting all over again, and as we were posted rather carelessly, believing that they had already made peace, they wounded many of our soldiers, three of them very severely, and two horses, but they did not get off with much to brag of, for we paid them out well. When Cortés saw this he ordered us again to make war on them and to advance into the City in the part where they had taken refuge. When they saw that we were advancing and capturing the whole City, Guatemoc sent two chiefs to tell Cortés that he desired to speak with him across a canal, Cortés to stand on one bank and Guatemoc on the other and they fixed the time for the morning of the following day, Cortés went, but Guatemoc would not keep the appointment but sent chieftains who said that their Lord did not dare to come out for fear lest, while they were talking, guns and crossbows should be discharged at him and should kill him. Then Cortés promised him on his oath that he should not be molested in any way that he did not approve of, but it was no use, they did not believe him and said "lest what happened to Montezuma should happen to him." At that time two of the chieftains who were talking to Cortés drew out from a bag which they carried some tortillas and the leg of a fowl and cherries, and seated themselves in a very leisurely manner and began to eat so that Cortés might observe it and believe that they were not hungry. When Cortés observed it he sent to tell them that as they did not wish to make peace, he would soon enter into all their houses to see if they had any maize and how much more poultry.

We went on in this way for another four or five days without attacking them, and about this time many poor Indians who had nothing to eat, would come out every night, and they came to our camp worn out by hunger. As soon as Cortés saw this he ordered us not to attack them for perhaps they would change their minds about

making peace, but they would not make peace although we sent to entreat them.

In Cortés's camp there was a soldier who said that he had been in Italy in the Company of the Great Captain[1] and was in the skirmish of Garallano and in other great battles, and he talked much about engines of war and that he could make a catapult in Tlatelolco by which, if they only bombarded the houses and part of the city where Guatemoc had sought refuge, for two days, they would make them surrender peacefully. So many things did he say to Cortés about this, for he was a very faithful soldier that he [Cortés] promptly set to work to make the catapult and they brought lime and stone in the way the soldier required, and carpenters and nails and all that was necessary for making the catapult, and they made two slings of strong bags and cords, and brought him great stones, larger than an arroba jar.[2] When the catapult was made and set up in the way that the soldier ordered, and he said it was ready to be discharged, they placed a suitable stone in the sling which had been made and all this stone did was to rise no higher than the catapult and fall back upon it where it had been set up. When Cortés saw this he was angry with the soldier who gave the order for making it, and with himself for believing him, and he said that he knew well that in war one ought not to speak much about a thing that vexes one, and that the man had only been talking for talking's sake, as had been found out in the way that I have said. This soldier was called, according to his own account, something de Sotello a native of Seville. Cortés at once ordered the catapult to be taken to pieces. Let us leave this and say

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[1] Gonzalvo de Córdova.

[2] Arroba—a weight of twenty-five pounds, here, a sort of demijohn.

that, when he saw that the catapult was a thing to be laughed at, he decided that Gonzalo de Sandoval should go in command of all the twelve launches and invade that part of the City whither Guatemoc had retreated, which was in a part where we could not reach the houses and palaces by land, but only by water. Sandoval at once summoned all the Captains of the launches and what he did I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLVI.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval with twelve launches entered into the part of the City where Guatemoc was [had taken refuge] and took him prisoner, and what happened about it.

As I have said Cortés not only saw that the Catapult was useless but was angry with the soldier who advised him to have it made, and in consequence of Guatemoc and his Captains not wishing for peace of any sort, he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to invade that part of the City where Guatemoc had taken refuge with all the flower of his Captains and the most distinguished persons that were in Mexico, and he ordered him not to kill or wound any Indians unless they should attack him, and even if they did attack him, he was only to defend himself and not do them any other harm, but he should destroy their houses and the many defences they had erected in the lake. Cortés ascended the great Cue of Tlatelolco to see how Sandoval advanced with the launches, and at that time Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Verdugo, Luis Marin and other soldiers were there with Cortés.

Sandoval advanced with great ardour upon the place where the Houses of Guatemoc stood, and when Guatemoc saw himself surrounded, he was afraid that they would

capture him or kill him, and he had got ready fifty great piraguas with good rowers so that when he saw himself hard pressed he could save himself by going to hide in some reed beds and get from thence to land and hide himself in another town, and those were the instructions he had given his captains and the persons of most importance who were with him in that fortified part of the city, so that they should do the same.

When they saw that the launches were getting among the houses they embarked in the fifty canoes, and they had already placed [on board] the property and gold and jewels of Guatemoc and all his family and women, and he had embarked himself and shot out into the lake ahead, accompanied by many Captains. As many other canoes set out at the same time, the lake was full of them, and Sandoval quickly received the news that Guatemoc was fleeing, and ordered all the launches to stop destroying the houses and fortifications and follow the flight of the canoes, and to have a care that they kept track of where Guatemoc was going, and not to molest him or do him any injury but try to capture him without using violence. As a certain García Holguin a friend of Sandoval, was captain of a launch which was very fast and a good sailor and was manned by good rowers Sandoval ordered him to follow in the direction in which they told him that Guatemoc was fleeing with his great piraguas, and instructed him not to do him [Guatemoc] any injury whatever beyond capturing him in case he should overtake him, and Sandoval went in another direction with other launches which kept him company. It pleased our Lord God that García Holguin should overtake the canoes and piraguas in which Guatemoc was travelling, and from the style and the awnings and the seat he was using he knew that it was Guatemoc the great Lord of Mexico, and he made signals for them to stop, but they would not stop, so he made as

though he were going to discharge muskets and crossbows. When Guatemoc saw that, he was afraid and said "Do not shoot, I am the king of this City and they call me Guatemoc, and what I ask of you is not to disturb my things that I am taking with me nor my wife nor my relations, but carry me at once to Malinche." When Holguin heard him he was greatly delighted, and with much respect he embraced him and placed him in the launch, him and his wife and about thirty chieftains and seated him in the poop on some mats and cloths, and gave him to eat of the food that he had brought with him, and he touched nothing whatever in the canoes that carried his [Guatemoc's] property but brought it along with the launch. By this time Gonzalo de Sandoval had ordered all the launches to assemble together, and he knew that Holguin had captured Guatemoc and was carrying him to Cortés, and when he heard it he told the rowers on board his launch to make all the speed possible and he overtook Holguin and claimed the prisoner, and Holguin would not give him up and said that he had captured him and not Sandoval, and Sandoval replied that that was true, but that he was the Captain General of the launches, and that García Holguin sailed under his command and banner, and it was because he was his friend and his launch the fastest that he had ordered him to follow after Guatemoc, to capture him, and that to him as his General he must give up his prisoner. Still Holguin contended that he did not wish to do so, and at that moment another launch went in great haste to Cortés (who was very close by in Tlatelolco, watching from the top of the Cue how Sandoval was advancing) to demand a reward for the good news, and they told Cortés of the dispute which Sandoval was having with Holguin over the capture of the prisoner. When Cortés knew of it he at once dispatched Captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Verdugo to summon Sandoval and Holguin to come as

they were in their launches without further discussion, and to bring Guatemoc and his wife and family with all [signs of] respect, and that he would settle whose was the prisoner and to whom was due the honour of it [the capture].

While they were bringing him, Cortés ordered a guest chamber to be prepared as well as could be done at the time, with mats and cloths and seats, and a good supply of the food which Cortés had reserved for himself. Sandoval and Holguin soon arrived with Guatemoc, and the two captains between them led him up to Cortés, and when he came in front of him he paid him great respect, and Cortés embraced Guatemoc with delight, and was very affectionate to him and his captains. Then Guatemoc said to Cortés "Señor Malinche, I have surely done my duty in defence of my City, and I can do no more and I come by force and a prisoner into your presence and into your power, take that dagger that you have in your belt and kill me at once with it"[1] and when he said this he wept tears and sobbed and other great Lords whom he had brought with him also wept. Cortés answered him through Doña Marina and Aguilar our interpreters, very affectionately, that he esteemed him all the more for having been so brave as to defend the City, and he was deserving of no blame, on the contrary [this circumstance] must be more in his favour than otherwise.

What he wished was that he [Guatemoc] had made peace of his own free will before the city had been so far destroyed, and so many of his Mexicans had died, but now, that both had happened there was no help for it and it could not be mended, let his spirit and the spirit of his Captains take rest, and he should rule in Mexico and over his provinces as he did before. Then Guatemoc and his

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[1] Blotted out in the original "and Guatemoc himself was going to lay hold of it."

Captains said that they accepted his favour, and Cortés asked after his wife and other great ladies, the wives of other Captains who, he had been told, had come with Guatemoc. Guatemoc himself answered and said that he had begged Gonzalo de Sandoval and García Holguin that they might remain in the canoes while he came to see what orders Malinche gave them. Cortés at once sent for them and ordered them all to be given of the best that at that time there was in the camp to eat, and as it was late and was beginning to rain, Cortés arranged for them to go to Coyoacan,[1] and took Guatemoc and all his family and household and many chieftains with him and he ordered Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains each to go to his own quarters and camp, and we went to Tacuba, Sandoval to Tepeaquilla and Cortés to Coyoacan. Guatemoc and his captains were captured on the thirteenth day of August at the time of vespers on the day of Señor San Hipólito in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria, His Blessed Mother, Amen.

It rained and thundered and lightning flashed that afternoon and up to midnight heavier rain fell than usual. After Guatemoc had been captured all the soldiers turned as deaf as if some one had stood shouting from the top of a belfry with many bells clanging and in the midst of their ringing all of a sudden they had ceased to sound. I say this purposely, for during all the ninety-three days that we were besieging this city, both by night and day, some of the Mexican Captains kept on uttering so many shouts and yells, whilst they were mustering the squadrons and warriors who were to fight on the causeway, and others

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[1] Betancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, *Sucesos Militares*, chap. x, say Cortés sent them to Acachinanco.

were calling out to those in the canoes who were to fight with the launches, and with us on the bridges, again others to those driving in piles and opening and deepening the water openings and bridges and making breastworks, or those who were making javelins and arrows, or to the women preparing rounded stones to hurl from the slings, while from the oratories and towers of the Idols, the accursed drums, trumpets and mournful kettle-drums never ceased sounding, and in this way both by night and by day, there was such a great din that we could not hear one another. On the capture of Guatemoc, the shouts and all the clamour ceased, and it is for this reason I have said that up to then we seemed to be standing in a belfry.

Let us leave this and say that Guatemoc was of a very graceful make both in figure and features. His face was rather long, but cheerful, and when his eyes looked at you, they appeared rather grave than gentle, and there was no waver in them ; he was twenty-one years of age,[1] and his colour inclined rather more to white than the colour of the brown Indians, and they say that he was a nephew of Montezuma, the son of one of his sisters, and he was married to a daughter of this same uncle Montezuma, who was a young and beautiful woman.

Before we go any further, let me relate how the dispute between Sandoval and García Holguin came to an end. It was in this way ; Cortés told them a story about the Romans having just such another dispute between Marius and Cornelius Sylla. It took place when Sylla brought Jugurtha a prisoner to Rome with his father-in-law, the King Bocos. When they entered Rome glorying over the deeds and exploits they had accomplished, it seems that Sylla placed Jugurtha in his triumphal procession with an iron chain round his neck, and Marius said that he

[1] Blotted out in the original, "twenty-three or twenty-four years."

and not Sylla should have done this, and that before Sylla had thus placed him he must explain that Marius gave him the right to do so, and had sent him in his stead so that he might take Jugurtha prisoner in Marius's name, and that the King Bocos gave himself up to the name of Marius. Then as Marius was Captain General and he (Sylla) was fighting under his command and banner, and as Sylla was one of the Roman patricians and was held in high favour, and as Marius came from a town near Rome named Arpino and therefore a foreigner, although he had been several times Consul, he was not in as high favour as Sylla, and about this matter there were Civil Wars between Marius and Sylla, and it was never settled to whom should be given the honour of capturing Jugurtha.

Let me take up the thread of my story, which is that Cortés said that be would refer the matter to His Majesty as to which of the two he would favour by making it [the subject of] a grant of arms, and that the decision about it would be brought from Spain, and in two years time there came a command from His Majesty that Cortés should have in the ornaments of his Coat of Arms, seven kings, who were Montezuma, the great Lord of Mexico, Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lords of Iztapalapa, Coyoacan, Tacuba and another great Lord who was a nephew of Montezuma, to whom they said would come the Caciqueship and Lordship of Mexico, (he was the Lord of Mataltzingo and of other provinces,) and this Guatemoc about whom the dispute arose.

Let us leave this and let us speak of the dead bodies and heads that were in the houses where Guatemoc had taken refuge. I say on my oath, Amen, that all the houses and the palisades in the lake were full of heads and corpses and I do not know how to describe it for in the streets and courts of Tlatelolco there was no difference, and we could not walk except among corpses and heads of dead Indians.

I have read about the destruction of Jerusalem but I know not for certain if there was greater mortality than this, for of the great number of the warriors from all the provinces and towns subject to Mexico who had crowded in [to the city] most of them died, and as I have already said, thus the land and the lake and the palisades were all full of dead bodies, and stank so much that no one could endure it, and for this reason, as soon as Guatemoc was captured, each one of the Captains went to his own camp, as I have already said, and even Cortés was ill from the stench which assailed his nostrils, and from headache, during the days we were in Tlatelolco.

Let us leave this and go on ahead and say that the soldiers who went about in the launches were the best off, and gained much spoil because they were able to go to the houses in certain quarters in the lake where they knew that there was cloth and gold and other riches, and they also went to search in the reed beds whither the Mexicans had carried it [their property] so as to hide it when we gained possession of some houses or quarter [of the city]. Also because under pretext of giving chase to canoes which carried food or water, when they came on those in which some of the chieftains were fleeing to the mainland to get among the pueblos of the Otomies who were their neighbours, they robbed them of all they carried with them. I wish to say that we, the soldiers who were fighting on the causeways and on land gained no profit except arrow and lance wounds, and wounds from darts and stones, because when we captured any houses, the inhabitants had already carried off whatever property they possessed; and we were not able to go through the water without first of all closing up the openings and bridges and, for this reason, I have said, in the chapter which tells of [the time] when Cortés was looking for sailors to go in the launches, that they were the

best off, and not we who fought on land. This seems clear, for the Mexican Captains and even Guatemoc, when Cortés demanded from them the treasure of Montezuma, told him that the crews of the launches had stolen the greater part of it.

Let us stop speaking of this until later on, and say that as there was so great a stench in the city, Guatemoc asked permission of Cortés for all the Mexican forces left in the city to go out to the neighbouring pueblos, and they were promptly told to do so. I assert that during three days and nights they never ceased streaming out and all three causeways were crowded with men, women and children, so thin, yellow, dirty and stinking, that it was pitiful to see them. When the city was free of them, Cortés went to examine it and we found the houses full of corpses and there were some poor Mexicans, who could not move out, still among them, and what they excreted from their bodies was a filth such as thin swine pass which have been fed upon nothing but grass, and all the city was as though it had been ploughed up and the roots of the herbs dug out and they had eaten them and even cooked the bark of some of the trees, and there was no fresh water to be found, only salt water. I also wish to state that they did not eat the flesh of their own Mexicans, only that of our people and our Tlaxcalan allies whom they had captured, and there had been no births for a long time, as they had suffered so much from hunger and thirst and continual fighting.

Let us continue. Cortés ordered all the launches to assemble where some dockyards were built later on. To go back to my story, when this great and populous city so famed throughout the whole world had been captured, after giving many thanks to God our Lord and Our Lady His Blessed Mother, and having made certain offerings to Our Lord God, Cortés ordered a banquet to be held at

Coyoacan in celebration of the capture of the city, and had already procured plenty of wine for the purpose out of a ship which had come from Spain to the port of Villa Rica, and he had pigs which they had brought him from Cuba and in order to make a festival of the occasion he ordered all the captains and soldiers whom he thought worth consideration from all three camps to be invited, and when we went to the banquet there were neither seats nor tables placed sufficient for a third part of the captains and soldiers who came, and there was much disorder, and it would have been better not to have given that banquet on account of many things which happened at it which were not creditable[1]; and they gambled, and this also it would have been better not to have done, and all the gold should have been used for holy purposes and given with

[1] Blotted out in the original, "such as to get rid of all this supper and the kinds of dances and the . . . . . and other things that were not suitable and also because this plant of Noah's made some people behave crazily, and men walked on the top of the tables after they had eaten and could not find the way out to the patio. Others said that they must buy horses with golden saddles and there were crossbowmen who said that all the darts and guides that they would have in their quivers must be made of gold from the share which would be given them, and others went rolling down the steps. Then when they had cleared away the tables, such ladies as were present, went out to dance with the gallants who were weighted with their (quilted) cotton armour and it seemed to me to be a thing to be laughed at. They were ladies whom I will not here describe for there were no others in camp nor in the whole of New Spain. First of all, the elderly Maria Destrada who afterwards married Pero Sanchez Farfan, and Francisca de Ordás who married a gentleman, Juan Gonzalo de Leon; la Bermuda, who married Olmos de Portillo, him of Mexico; another lady, the wife of Captain Portillo who died in (one of) the launches, but as she was a widow they did not bring her to the feast; and a somebody Gómez, who was the wife of Benito de Vargas; and another beautiful lady called la Bermuda—I don't remember her Christian name—who married one Hernan Martin and went to live in Oaxaca; and another elderly woman named Ysabel Rodríguez, who at that time, was the wife of a somebody Guadalupe, and another somewhat elderly woman who was called Mari Hernández who was the wife of the rich Juan de Cáceres. I cannot call to mind any others who were then in New Spain. Let us leave the banquet and capering and dances, for the next day that dawned, the tables . . . . . ."

thanks to God for the many benefits and favours He had already shown us and continued to show us.

Let us cease to speak of this, for I wish to tell of other things that happened which I was forgetting, and which do not belong here, but should have been reported somewhat earlier, and it is that our friends Chichimecatecle and the two jouthful Xicotengas, the sons of Don Lorenzo de Vargas, who used to be called Xicotenga the old and blind, fought very valiantly against the great forces of Mexico, and helped us very much, and so too did a brother of Don Fernando, the Lord of Texcoco, many times mentioned by me, who was called Ixtlilxochitl,[1] who was afterwards named Don Carlos; he did the deeds of a very daring and valiant man. There was another Indian Captain whose name I do not remember, a native of a pueblo on the lake, who performed wonders, and many other captains from the pueblos which assisted us. All fought very mightily, and Cortés gave them many thanks and much praise for having helped us, and made them many promises that he would make them rulers, and he would give them in time to come lands and vassals, and he bid them farewell, and as they were all rich and weighed down with the gold and spoil they had taken they went back to their lands and even carried with them the dried flesh of the Mexicans and divided it among their relations and friends as pertaining to their enemies, and they ate it at festivals.

Now that I am [far] away from the conflicts and arduous battles which we fought against the Mexicans by night and day, for which I give many thanks to God who delivered me from them, I wish to relate a thing that happened to me after seeing the sixty-two soldiers of Cortés, who were carried off alive, sacrificed, and their

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[1] Este suchel in the text.

chests cut open and their hearts offered to the Idols. What I shall say now will appear to some persons to be due to my want of any great inclination for fighting, but on the other hand, if it is well thought out, it arose out of the reckless daring and great courage with which in those days, I was obliged to expose myself in the thickest of the fights, for at that time it was expected of a good soldier and was necessary in order to maintain that reputation, that one should do whatever the boldest soldier was obliged to do. As each day I beheld my companions carried off to be sacrificed, and had seen how they sawed open their chests and tore out their still beating hearts and cut off their feet and arms and ate them, to the number of sixty-two, as I have already said, besides ten of our company whom they had captured before that, I feared that one day or another they would do the same to me, for they had already seized me twice to carry me off to be sacrificed, but it pleased God that I should escape from their power. When I called to mind those hideous deaths, and as the proverb says, "The little pitcher which goes many times to the fountain, &c.," for this reason, from that time I always feared death more than ever. I say this because, before going into battle there was a horror and sadness in my heart, and I fasted once or twice, commending myself to God and His Blessed Mother, but on going into battle it was always the same, the fear promptly left me.

I also wish to say what a very new sensation it seemed to me to feel that unaccustomed fear, for I had been present in many battles and many very dangerous warlike encounters, and my heart as well as my courage and spirit must have been well hardened and now at the very end it ought to have been more so than ever. For I can easily recount and remember how from the time I came as discoverer with Francisco Hernández de Córdova and

Grijalva, and again with Cortés, I was present at the affairs of Punta de Catoche, and in that of Lazaro, which is also called Campeche, and at Potonchan, and in Florida, as I have written about more fully when I came exploring with Francisco Hernández de Córdova. Let us leave this and go on to speak of the expedition under Grijalva and in that same the affair at Potonchan and now with Cortés in the affair at Tabasco and that of Cingapacinga and in all the battles and encounters in Tlaxcala and that of Cholula, and how when we defeated Narvaez they picked me out and I was among those who went to capture the artillery, which numbered eighteen guns, all loaded with stones and balls, and we captured them and it was a critical moment of great danger ; and I was present in the first defeat when the Mexicans drove us out of Mexico, when they killed within about eight days over eight hundred and fifty of our soldiers, and I was present during the expeditions to Tepeaca and Quechula and their neighbourhood, and in other encounters we had with the Mexicans, when we were in Texcoco, about seizing the maize-fields, and I was present at the affair of Iztapalapa when they wanted to drown us, and I was present when we climbed the Peñoles, as they now call the forts or fortresses which Cortés captured, and at the affair of Xochimilco in four battles and many other skirmishes, and I was among the first to go with Pedro de Alvarado to invest Mexico, when we cut off the water of Chapultepec, and was in the first expedition along the causeway with Alvarado himself and afterwards when they defeated our Company on the same causeway and carried off eight soldiers, and they seized me and carried me off to be sacrificed, and in all the battles already recorded by me which took place every day, up to the time that I saw, as I have stated, the cruel deaths which they inflicted on our companions before my eyes, [I repeat as] I have already

said, that although I had passed through all these battles and risks of death, I had never felt fear so greatly as I felt it now at the last. Let those gentlemen who understand soldiering and have been at critical moments in peril of death, say to what cause they attribute my dread, whether to faint-heartedness or to excessive valour; for, as I have said, I felt in my mind that having to thrust myself when fighting into such dangerous positions, I must of necessity fear death then more than at other times, and that was the reason why my heart trembled, for it feared death. All these battles at which I was present and of which I have here spoken, they will see in this my story. And when and how and where and in what way I took part in many other expeditions and encounters from now onwards, which I do not record until their proper time and place, they will see further on in the story. I may add that I was not always in very good health for I was often badly wounded, and for this reason was not able to go on all the expeditions. Still, the hardships and risks of death that I have personally encountered are not insignificant, for after we had captured this great and strong city of Mexico, I went through other conflicts in company with captains who understood soldiering, as will be seen later on when the opportunity occurs.

Let us leave this now and I will state and declare why in all these Mexican wars, when they killed our comrades, I have said, "they carried them off," and not "they killed them," and the reason was this, because the warriors who fought with us although they were able to kill those of our soldiers whom they carried off alive, did not kill them at once, but gave them dangerous wounds so that they could not defend themselves, and carried them off alive to sacrifice to their Idols, and they even first made them dance before Huichilobos, who was their Idol of War; and this is the reason why I have said, "they carried

them off." Let us leave this subject and I will relate what Cortés did after the capture of Mexico.

CHAPTER CLVII.

What Cortés ordered to be done and certain commands that he gave after the Very Great City of Mexico had been captured and Guatemoc and his captains had been made prisoners.

THE first order that Cortés gave to Guatemoc was, that they [the Mexicans] should repair the water pipes from Chapultepec in the way they used to be, so that the water should at once come through the pipes and enter the City of Mexico; next, that all the streets should be cleared of the bodies and heads of the dead, and that they should be buried so that the city could be kept clean and free from any stench; that all the bridges and causeways should be thoroughly restored to their former condition, and that they should rebuild the palaces and houses, and within two months they should return to live in them, and he (Cortés) marked out where they were to settle and what part they were to leave clear so that we could settle there.

Let us leave these orders and others which I no longer remember and relate what Guatemoc and his captains told Cortés, that many of the captains and soldiers who went as crews of the launches as well as those who had marched along the causeways fighting, had carried off many of the daughters and wives of the chieftains, and they begged him as a favour that they should be given back to them and Cortés answered that it would be difficult to take the women from those who held them, but they might seek them out and bring them before him and he would see if they had become Christians or preferred to return to their homes to their fathers and husbands, [in the latter case] he

would at once order them to be given up, and he gave them, [the Mexicans] permission to go and look for them in all three camps, and an order that any soldier who might have any of them should at once give them up, if the Indian women of their free will wished to go back. Many chieftains went in search of the women from house to house and they were so persistent in their search that they found them, but there were many women who did not wish to go either with their fathers or mothers or husbands but to remain with the soldiers with whom they were, and others hid themselves and others said that they did not wish to return to Idolators, and some of them were already pregnant, and so they did not bring more than three of them whom Cortés especially ordered to be given up.

Let us leave this and tell how he [Cortés] at once ordered docks and a fort to be made where the launches could be stationed, and it seems to me that he appointed Pedro de Alvarado to be Alcaide to take charge of it, until Salazar de la Pedrada, who was appointed by his Majesty, came from Castile.

Let me speak of another matter: all were agreed that all the gold and silver and jewels that there were in Mexico should be collected together, and apparently it amounted to very little, for there was a report that Guatemoc had thrown all the rest into the lake four days before he was captured, and in addition to this the Tlaxcalans and the people of Texcoco, Huexotzingo, Cholula and all the rest of our friends who were present at the war, and the Teules who went about in the launches had stolen their share of it, so that the officers of the Royal Treasury of the King our Lord alleged and proclaimed that Guatemoc had hidden it [the treasure] and that Cortés was delighted that he would not give it up so that he might take it all for himself, and for this reason the Officers

of the Royal Treasury determined to torture Guatemoc and the Lord of Tacuba who was his cousin and his great favourite, and certainly Cortés was much distressed that they should torture a Prince like Guatemoc for greed of gold, for they had already made many inquiries about it [the treasure] and all the Mayor-domos of Guatemoc said that there was no more than the Kings officers already had in their possession, which amounted to three hundred and eighty thousand gold pesos, which had already been melted and cast in bars, and from that was taken the Royal fifth, and another fifth for Cortés. When the conquistadores who bore Cortés ill will saw how little Gold there was, they told the treasurer Julian de Alderete (for so he was called) that they suspected Cortés did not want Guatemoc or his captains to be captured or tortured, in order to keep the gold for himself, so, to avoid their imputing anything to Cortés about this matter and as he could not prevent it, they tortured (Guatemoc) by burning his feet with oil, and they did the same thing to the Lord of Tacuba, and what they confessed was that, four days before, they had thrown into the lake both the gold as well as the cannon and muskets which they had captured from us when they drove us out of Mexico, and when this last time, they defeated Cortés. They went to the place which Guatemoc pointed out as the spot where he had thrown it [the treasure], and good swimmers went in, but they found nothing at all.

What I myself saw was that we went with Guatemoc to the houses in which he used to live where there was a sort of reservoir of water, and from that tank we took out a golden sun, like the one Montezuma gave us and many jewels and pieces of little value which belonged to Guatemoc himself.

The Lord of Tacuba said that he had in some of his houses in Tacuba, about four leagues distant, certain

objects of gold, and if we would take him there he would tell us where they were buried and would give them to us; so Pedro de Alvarado and six soldiers went and I went in his company. When we arrived the cacique said that it was so as to be killed on the road that he had told that story, and we were to kill him, for he possessed neither gold nor jewels, so we returned without them. Matters remained in this state, and we obtained no more gold to melt down. The truth is that the treasure of Montezuma which Guatemoc took possession of and held after his death, did not contain many jewels or ornaments of gold, for all [the best] had been especially selected to form the offering we made to His Majesty, and because it comprised many jewels of various shapes and different workmanship, all so excellent, if I should stop to describe each piece and its workmanship by itself it would be very tedious and I will omit the account from this story, but I assert that it was worth twice as much as the fifth which was taken out for His Majesty, and for Cortés, all of this we sent to our Lord the Emperor by Alonzo de Avila, who at that time came from the Island of Santo Domingo, and Antonio de Quiñones went in company with him to Castile, and further on I will relate how and in what way and when [this took place].

Let us stop talking about this and again state that in the lake where they said that Guatemoc had thrown the gold, I and other soldiers by diving were always able to fetch out small pieces of little value, which Cortés and the Treasurer Julian de Alderete promptly demanded of us as gold belonging to His Majesty, and they themselves went with us where we had taken it out, and took with them good swimmers and succeeded in getting out a matter of eighty or ninety pesos in small strings [of beads] and ducks and little dogs and pendants and small necklaces and other things of no value, for so one can express

it considering the earlier report of what they had thrown into the lake.

Let us stop talking about it and relate how all of us captains and soldiers were somewhat thoughtful when we saw how little gold there was and how poor and unjust were our shares, and the Fraile de la Merced, Pedro de Alvarado, Cristóbal de Olid and other captains said to Cortés that as there was so little gold the [entire] share belonging to all of us should be given to and divided among those who were maimed and lame, blind, one eyed or deaf, and others who were crippled and had pains in their stomachs, and others who had been burned by the powder, and all those who were ill from pains in their sides, that to them all the gold should be given for to such like it would be right to give it, and all the rest of us who were fairly sound would look upon it as a good thing. This they said to Cortés after due consideration, believing that he would give us more than the [our] shares for there was a strong suspicion that he had it [gold] hidden away. What Cortés answered was that he would take care that we came out right, and would find means to attain that end. As all of us captains and soldiers wished to see what would fall to our share, we were in a hurry for the account to be issued, and a declaration made how many pesos would result for each of us, and after they had apportioned it they said that there fell to the horsemen eighty pesos and to a crossbowman, musketeer and shield-bearer sixty or fifty pesos, I do not remember well which, and when those shares were made known to us not a single soldier wanted to accept them. Then we grumbled against Cortés, and they said that he had seized and hidden it, and the Treasurer Alderete in order to exculpate himself from our accusations, answered that he could do no more, for Cortés had taken another fifth (equal to that of His Majesty) from

the heap for himself, and in repayment of the great cost of the horses that had died, moreover many pieces of gold which we ought to have sent to His Majesty had not been placed on the heap, and we had better take Cortés to task and not him. As in all three camps and in the launches there were soldiers who had been friends and comrades of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, [especially] among those who had come with Narvaez, who bore no good will towards Cortés but hated him, when they saw in the division of the gold that he did not give them the shares they desired, they would not take what he gave them, and said, "How came all the gold to be in the possession of him who held it?" and they were impertinent enough to say that Cortés had hidden it.

While Cortés was in Coyoacan lodging in some palaces which had their walls plastered and white-washed where it was easy to write on them with charcoal and other inks, numerous rather malicious sentences appeared [on them] every morning, some written in prose and others in verse, in the way lampoons are arranged. In some they said that the sun, moon and stars, the sea and land follow their [prescribed] courses, and if at any time they deviate beyond their limits from the plane for which they were created, they revert to their [original] elements, and thus it would be with the ambition of Cortés for power, and he would have to go back to his first condition. Others said he had given us a worse defeat than what we gave to Mexico, and that we were not to call ourselves conquerors of New Spain but the conquered of Hernando Cortés. Others said that a general's share had not satisfied him, but a king's share, not counting other profits, and others said how sad is my spirit until Cortés gives back all the gold that he has taken and hidden ; and others said that Diego Velásquez spent his fortune and discovered all the North Coast as far as Panuco, and Cortés came to have the

benefit of it and rose in revolt with the land and the gold and other things of a similar nature and even used expressions that cannot be put into this story. When Cortés came out of his quarters of a morning and read them, as they were both in verse and in prose and in very elegant style and rhyme, each sentence and couplet with pointed meaning, and at last got in its reproof, and not as simply as I have here stated, and as Cortés was something of a poet [himself] and took a pride in giving answers tending to the praise of his great and noteworthy deeds and belittling those of Diego Velásquez, Grijalva and Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and as he had taken Narvaez prisoner, he also answered by good rhymes much to the point. In all this writing the couplets and mottoes that they scored up became each day more impudent until Cortés wrote up "a blank wall is the paper of fools" and there appeared written further on "even of wise men and of Truths and His Majesty would soon know it." Cortés knew well that those who had written it were a certain Tirado, a friend of Diego Velásquez, who was [afterwards] son-in-law of Ramíres the Elder and lived in Puebla, and one Villalobos who went to Castile, and another named Manzilla and several more who willingly aided in order that Cortés should feel to the full that they were thwarting him.

Cortés was enraged and said publicly that they should not write up malicious things, and that he would punish the shameless villains.

Let us leave this affair [and say] how there were many debts among us, some of us owed for crossbows fifty or sixty pesos, and others fifty for a sword, and in like manner all the things we had bought were dear; then there was a surgeon named Maestre Juan who tended some bad wounds and charged excessive prices for his cures, also a half quack named Múrcia who was an apothecary and barber

who also doctored us, and thirty other traps and cheatings for which payment was demanded out of the shares that we were given.

The remedy that Cortés provided was the appointment of two trustworthy persons who understood business and what each article that we had taken on credit was worth, so that they might be valued, and these valuers were named Santa Clara, a very honourable man, and another called something de Llerena also an honourable man ; and it was ordered that the value they placed on the things that had been sold to us and the cures the surgeons had made should be accepted, and that if we did not possess the money they should wait for it for two years.

Another thing was also done ; to all the gold that was melted down they added three carats more than its standard weight[1] so as to help in the payments, and also because at that time ships and traders had come to Villa Rica, and they believed that in putting in the three carats they were helping us, [that is] the land and the conquistadores, but it did not help us in any way, on the contrary it was to our prejudice, for with the object of making a profit corresponding to the three carats, the merchants charged 5 carats more on the merchandise and articles they had for sale, and in this way the gold of the three carats was current for five or six years more, and for this reason the gold of the three carats was called Tepusque which means in the language of the Indians, copper, and we still have a way of saying when we mention any persons who are distinguished or meritorious. "Senor Don so and so of such a name, Juan, Martin or Alonso, but of other persons who are not of the same quality when we mention their names, so as to make a difference between the one and the other we say 'So and so of such a name Tepusque.'"

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[1] That is, they debased the gold one-eighth.

To go back to my story, considering that it was not just that the gold should be current in this way, information was sent to His Majesty in order to have the additional three carats removed and barred from currency in New Spain, and His Majesty was pleased to order that it should no longer be current and whatever had to be paid in export or import duties or fines to the Treasury should be paid in that base gold until it was used up and was no longer remembered, and in this way it was all taken to Castile and was there melted down and restored to the proper standard.

I wish to relate that at the time when this happened they hanged two Silversmiths who forged the royal carat marks and had put in much more pure copper. I have loitered on the way to tell these old stories, and have turned aside from my story, let us get back to it, and [I will relate] how when Cortés saw that many of the soldiers were insolent in demanding larger shares, saying that he had taken all for himself and had stolen it, and begged him to lend them money, he determined to free himself from this hold [that they had] over him and to send out and make settlements in all the provinces which he thought it would be advisable to settle. He ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go and settle at Tustepec and to chastise some Mexican garrisons which at the time we were driven out of Mexico had killed seventy eight men and six Spanish women belonging to the followers of Narvaez, who had remained there to settle in a small town which they had called Medellin, and then to go on to Coatzacoalcos and form a settlement at that port. He also ordered a certain Pineda and Vicente Lopez to go and conquer the province of Panuco; and he ordered Rodrigo Rangel to stay in Villa Rica, as I have already stated, and Pedro de Ircio in his company, and [sent] Juan Álvarez the younger to Colima and a

certain Villafuerte to Zacatula and Cristóbal de Olid to Michoacan. By this time Cristóbal de Olid was already married to a Portuguese lady named Doña Felipa de Arauz or Zarauz, who had come . . . . . He also sent Francisco de Orozco to settle in Oaxaca, for at the time when we had captured Mexico, as it became known in all those provinces that I have mentioned that Mexico was destroyed, their caciques and Lords could not believe it, and as they were far off they sent chieftains to congratulate Cortés on his victories, and yield themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to see if it were true that a place that was as dreaded among them as was Mexico had been levelled to the ground. They all brought great presents of gold which they gave to Cortés, and they even brought their small children with them and showed them Mexico and explained it to them much as we might say " Here stood Troy."

Let us leave this and make some remarks about what is well should be made clear; many interested readers have asked me what is the reason that the true conquistadores who won New Spain and the great and strong City of Mexico, did not remain to settle in it, but went to other provinces. I say that they have every reason and justification to ask it, I wish to state the cause of it, and it is this which I [now] relate; In the tribute books of Montezuma we saw whence they brought him tribute of gold and where there were mines and cacao, and garments of [cotton] cloth, and we wished to go to those places whence, we saw rom the books and the accounts contained in them, they brought these things to Montezuma, all the more when we saw a captain so eminent and such a friend of Cortés as Sandoval start out from Mexico, and also because we observed that in the towns of the neighbourhood of Mexico they had neither gold, nor mines, nor cotton, only much maize and maguey plantations from which they obtained their wine. On this account we considered it to be poor

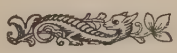
land and went off to settle in other provinces, and we were all thoroughly deceived.

I remember that when I went to ask Cortés to give me leave to go with Sandoval he said to me "On my conscience Señor Bernal Díaz del Castillo you are making a mistake, I would prefer your staying here with me, but if it is your wish to go with your friend Sandoval, go and good luck to you. I shall always consider your wishes but I know well that you will repent of having left me."

Let me turn back to the division of the gold and say that [finally] it all fell to the share of the king's officials on account of the slaves that had been sold by auction.

I do not wish to call to mind here the number of horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers, nor on what day of what month Cortés despatched the captains mentioned by me, who went to settle in the provinces named by me above, for it would be a long story, except to state it took place a few days after the taking of Mexico and the Capture of Guatemoc, and two months later on Cortés sent other captains to other provinces.

Let us now cease to speak of Cortés and say that at the same time there arrived at the port of Villa Rica, with two ships, the Veedor of the smelting works which had been established in the Island of Santo Domingo, others said that he was Alcayde of the fortress in that Island, and he brought writs, and letters patent from Don Juan Rodrigo de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, sent in His Majesty's name, to the effect that Cristóbal de Tápia should be governor of New Spain, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.



BOOK XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

How letters reached Cortés [to say] that a certain Cristóbal de Tápia had arrived at the Port of Vera Cruz with two ships and was bringing commissions from His Majesty appointing him to rule New Spain, and what was decided and done about it.

S soon as Cortés had despatched the Captains and soldiers, already named by me, to pacify and settle in the provinces, at that [very] time Cristóbal de Tápia the Veedor of the Island of Santo Domingo came with commissions from His Majesty, by advice and direction of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), to take over the Government of New Spain.

Besides these commissions he brought many letters from the Bishop himself for Cortés and for many others of the conquistadores and of the captains who had come with Narvaez inducing them to support Cristóbal de Tápia. In addition to the letters which came closed and sealed by the Archbishop he brought many left blank, so that Tápia could write in them all that he wished, and could name such

soldiers and captains as might appear to suit his purpose. All these letters conveyed many promises from the Bishop to the effect that he would grant us great favour if we gave the Government to Tápia and in case we did not deliver it up to him, many threats, saying that His Majesty would send to chastise us.

Let us leave this; Tápia exhibited his decrees before Gonzalo de Alvarado, the brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was . . . . Cortés's representative, for Rodrigo Rangel who used to be Alcalde Mayor had committed I know not what excesses and injustices, and Cortés had . . . . deprived him of his office. When the commissions were exhibited to Gonzalo de Alvarado he submitted to them and placed them on his head as the commissions and orders of our Lord and King, and as to complying with them, he said that he would assemble the Alcaldes and Regidores of the town and that they would talk it over and see how and in what way the decrees were obtained, and that they would obey them jointly, for he alone counted but as one person, and they would also see whether His Majesty was aware that such commissions had been sent. This reply did not suit Tápia very well and some persons, who were not on good terms with Cortés, advised him to go at once to Mexico where Cortés was stationed with most of the Captains and soldiers and that there they would yield obedience to the commissions.

In addition to presenting the commissions as I have stated, Tápia wrote to Cortés to the effect that he was coming as Governor. Cortés was too clever not to see through the graciousness of Tápia's letters, and not to observe on the one hand the offers and promises of the Bishop of Burgos, and on the other hand his threats, so that for all the many agreeable expressions he had received, Cortés sent him [Tápia] even pleasanter, more flattering and complimentary replies. Cortés promptly requested

and ordered certain of our Captains to go and see Tápia, and they went, namely Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Soto, he of Toro, and a Baldenebro and Andrés de Tápia, and Cortés sent post haste calling on them to suspend for the time the settlement of the provinces in which they were located and proceed to Villa Rica where Tápia was; and moreover he ordered a friar named Fray Pedro Megarejo de Urrea who was a good speaker, to go with them.

Tápia was already on his way to Mexico to see Cortés when he met the Captains and the Friar whom I have already named, and on account of the speeches and promises they made him he turned off the road to a town called Cempoala, and there they demanded of him that he should again exhibit his commissions so that they could see how and in what manner His Majesty had given the orders, for if his Royal Signature was attached to them, or he was cognizant of them, they would all of them with their breasts on the ground obey them in the name of Hernando Cortés and all New Spain for they were empowered to do so. Tápia again displayed the commissions and the Captains one and all kissed them and placed them on their heads as decrees of their Lord and King, but as to their being carried out, they [said they] would appeal to the Emperor our Lord [himself] who they said was not cognizant of them, nor of any events and that Tápia had not sufficient ability to be governor, and that the Bishop of Burgos was hostile to all of us conquistadores who were his Majesty's servants, and went on giving these orders without making a true report to His Majesty, and in order to favour Diego Velásquez and Tápia so as to marry him to a Fonseca, a niece or daughter of this same Bishop. When Tápia saw that neither words nor letters nor promises nor compliments were of any avail he fell ill from vexation, and those captains whom I have named

wrote to Cortés all that had taken place and advised him to send ingots and bars of gold so that by that means the fury of Tápia might be assuaged. These he sent post haste and they bought [from Tápia] some negros and three horses and one of the ships, and he embarked in the other ship for the Island of Santo Domingo whence he had set out. When he arrived there, the resident Royal Audiencia and the Geronomite Friars who were the Governors took careful note of his return and of the selfish means he had employed to enrich himself, and they were angry with him because, before he left Santo Domingo to go to New Spain, they had ordered him plainly not to think of going at that time, for it was sure to bring trouble and would break the thread of the conquest of Mexico ; but he would not obey on account of the support of the Bishop de Fonseca, and the Judges and Friars did not dare to act otherwise than according to the Bishop's orders, because he was the President of the [Council of the] Indies, and His Majesty was at that time in Flanders and had not come to Castile.

Let us leave this matter of Tápia and say how Cortés soon sent Pedro de Alvarado to make a settlement at Tututepeque which was a country rich in gold, and so that those who did not know the names of these towns may understand clearly, one is Tustepeque to which Sandoval went, and the other is Tututepeque where Pedro de Alvarado was now going. This I state so that I should not be accused of saying that two Captains went to settle in one and the same province. Cortés also sent to establish a settlement on the Rio de Panuco, because he had received news that Don Francisco de Garay was preparing a great fleet to come and settle it, for it appears that His Majesty had given Garay the Government [of that province] as I have more fully stated in former chapters which treat of the ships which he sent ahead, which were destroyed by

the Indians of this same province of Panuco. Cortés did this so that if Garay should arrive he would find the country already settled by Cortés himself.

Let us pass on and state how Cortés sent Rodrigo Rangel for a second time to be his representative at Villa Rica, and removed Gonzalo de Alvarado and ordered him at once to send the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, whom he held prisoner, to Coyoacan, where latterly Cortés had settled. For at that time Cortés resided at Coyoacan, and had not yet gone to settle in Mexico and was waiting until the houses and palaces in which he was going to live had been built. Cortés sent for Narvaez because, according to what has been reported of him, when the Veedor Cristóbal de Tápia arrived at Villa Rica with the decrees that I have mentioned, Narvaez spoke to Tápia and in a few words said to him, "Señor Cristóbal de Tápia, it seems to me that you ought to bring and you are bringing the same authority that I did, and observe what an end it has led me to, although I brought such a fine fleet; look out for your own safety, and do not lose any more time, Cortés has not come to the end of his luck, he knows why they are giving you gold. Go back to Castile and present yourself before His Majesty, especially enjoying as you do the support of the Bishop of Burgos you will not want for protection and helpers, and then report what is going on here, and this is the best [thing to do]."

Let us change this conversation, and I will relate that Narvaez set out at once for Mexico and beheld the great populations and cities, and arriving at Texcoco he was struck with wonder, also when he saw Coyoacan and he wondered all the more when he beheld the lake and the cities which are peopled in it, and last of all the great City of Mexico. When Cortés knew that he was coming he ordered great honour to be paid him and sent [a party] out to meet him, and when Narvaez came before him he

fell on his knees and tried to kiss his hands, but Cortés would not permit it, and raised him up and embraced him, and showed him much affection and ordered him to take a seat near him. Then Narvaez said "Señor Capitan, now I can say truly that the least of the things that you and your valiant soldiers have accomplished in New Spain was defeating me and taking me prisoner even if I had brought a greater force with me than I did bring, for I have seen so many great cities and lands that you have conquered and subjected to the service of God and of our Emperor, and you may congratulate yourself and hold yourself in as high estimation as I do, so say I, and so will say all the most renowned captains who are alive to-day, that one can place you ahead of the most famous and illustrious men who have lived in all the world, and that there is no other greater or stronger city than this of Mexico, and your Excellency and your soldiers deserve to receive the greatest favours of the hands of His Majesty" and he uttered many other flatteries which need not be repeated.

Cortés answered him that no power of ours could have done what we had accomplished but only the great mercy of God which always aided us, and the good fortune of our Caesar.

Let us leave this conversation and the promises which Narvaez made to Cortés, and I will relate how at that time Cortés went to settle the great City of Mexico, and he allotted the sites for the churches and monasteries and royal houses and plazas, and to all the settlers he gave lots, and let us not waste more time on the description of the way in which it is now built up, and according to the reports of many people who have been in many parts of Christendom, there had never been in the world another more populous or greater city of better houses inhabited by gentlemen, considering its character and the time at

which it was settled (let it be understood) by the poor conquistadores. While Cortés, as I have stated, was occupied in the laying out of the city, and was somewhat recovered from his fatigue, they brought him letters from Panuco [to say] that the whole province had risen in revolt, and they were very belligerent warriors for they had killed many of the soldiers whom he had sent to make settlements, and he must without delay send all the assistance he could. Cortés promptly decided to go in person, for although he might have wished to send some of our other captains, there were none of them in Mexico, for, as I have stated, we had all of us gone to other provinces. He took all the soldiers he was able to collect, and horsemen, crossbowmen and musketeers, for there had already arrived in Mexico many men from among those whom the Veedor Tápia had brought with him, and others were there who had accompanied Vásquez de Ayllon to Florida, and others who by that time had come from the Islands.

Leaving a good garrison in Mexico with Diego de Soto a native of Toro as captain, Cortés set out from Mexico. At that time there were no horseshoes, or only a very few for the many horses he was taking with him, for there were over one hundred and thirty persons on horseback, and two hundred and fifty soldiers in all including musketeers and crossbowmen and the horsemen. He also took with him ten thousand Mexicans. At that time Cristóbal de Olid had already returned from Michoacan for he had established peace there, and he brought with him many Caciques and the son of Caçonçi, for so he was called, who was the Lord in chief of all those provinces, and he brought much low grade gold, which was mixed with copper and silver.[1]

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[1] Blotted out in the original: and Cortés decided that from the low grade silver horseshoes and nails should be made.—G. G.

Cortés disbursed on that expedition to Panuco, a great quantity of pesos de oro and he afterwards demanded that His Majesty should repay him that expense, and the officials of His Majesty's treasury did not wish to receive the account nor to pay any of it, for they said that if he made that expedition and [incurred] that expense it was because he wished to gain possession of that province so that Don Francisco de Garay who was coming to conquer it should not have it, for the news had already been received that they were coming from the Island of Jamaica with a great fleet.

To go back to my story, I will relate how Cortés arrived with all his army at the province of Panuco and found the people at war, and he sent many times to summon them to peace and they would not come. He had many warlike encounters with them and in two battles in which they stood up to him, they killed three soldiers and wounded more than thirty and killed four horses, and many others were wounded, and more than two hundred of the Mexicans died, without counting another three hundred that were wounded. The Huastecs,[1] for so they call the Indians of these provinces, numbered over fifty thousand men when they gave battle to Cortés, but by the will of God they were defeated, and all the field where this battle took place, was closely strewn with dead and many wounded from among the natives of that province, so that they never rallied on that occasion to attack again.

Cortés remained for eight days in a town where those conflicts took place called[2] . . . . . in order to cure the wounded and bury the dead, and supplies were plentiful.

In order to send once more and call the people to peace he despatched two Caciques, persons of importance from

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[1] Guastecas in the text.

[2] Here the author has left a blank space.—G. G.

among those who had been taken prisoners in the battles, and through Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar whom Cortés always took with him, he made them a speech and asked them, how could all the people of those provinces hope to avoid submitting themselves as vassals of His Majesty, when they had seen and had heard the news, how with all the power of Mexico and its strength in warriors, the city had been destroyed and razed to the ground, and [he told them] to make peace promptly, and to have no fear, for he pardoned them for the deaths that had taken place, and he spoke these words to them with kindness, but he also used threats. As [the Indians] were cowed and many had been killed in the last battle, and they saw their towns laid waste by fire, they made peace, and all brought jewels of gold, although they were of little value, and presented them to Cortés who received them in peace with affection and caresses.

From this place Cortés went with half his army to a river called Chila[1] about five leagues from the sea, and he again sent messengers to all the towns on the other side of the river to summon them to make peace and they would not come, for, made fierce by the blood of the numerous soldiers killed two years earlier, (who came under the captains whom Garay had sent to settle on that river, as I have already stated in the chapter which treats of that subject,) they thought they could do the same with our army. As they were posted by three great lagoons and rivers and swamps which served them as a strong fortress, the reply they made was to slay two of the messengers whom Cortés had sent to treat for peace, and to make prisoners of the others. Cortés waited some days to see if they would change from their evil purpose, and as they did

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[1] Chila is to the N. of the Rio Panuco, about 19 miles W. of Tampico.

not come, he sent for all the canoes that could be found in the river, and with them and some barges, made from the timbers of the old ships which had belonged to the captain whom Garay had sent and [the Indians] had killed, he sent one hundred and fifty soldiers, most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, across to the other side of the river by night, and fifty cavalry in canoes tied together two by two, so that they crossed over in a matter of . . . . and as the natives of those provinces keep watch over the passes and rivers, when they saw them, they allowed them to pass with the intention of killing them, and they were waiting for them on the other side.

If many Huastec Indians, for so they are called, had come together in the first battles that they had fought against Cortés, far greater numbers had been massed on this occasion, and they came on like rabid lions to fall on our men, and on the first encounter they killed two soldiers and wounded over thirty, and they also killed three horses and wounded fifteen others and many of the Mexicans, but our men fell on them so quickly that they could not hold the field and they were soon put to flight leaving behind a great number of dead and wounded. When this battle was over our men went to sleep at a pueblo from which the inhabitants had fled, and they camped there after posting sentinels, watchmen, patrols and spies, and food for supper was not wanting. As soon as the dawn came, when walking through the pueblo [our men] saw hanging up in a Cue and oratory of the Idols, many clothes and faces that had been flayed off and cured like glove leather, with the beards and hair [still adhering], which had belonged to the soldiers of the captains sent by Garay to make a settlement on the Rio Panuco who had been killed, and many of them were recognised by our soldiers who said that they were their friends, and the hearts of all were broken with grief at seeing them in this state, and they

took them down from where they were and carried them off for burial.

From that pueblo they went on to another place, and, as they knew how very warlike the people of that province were, they always marched with great caution and in fighting array so that they should not be taken unawares. It was reported by the scouts that some great squadrons of Indians were lying in ambush so that as soon as our men should dismount and go into the houses they might fall on the horses and on the men. As they had been found out, the Indians could not do as they intended, but all the same they sallied out very boldly and fought against our men like brave warriors and for more than half an hour the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and the Mexican Indians, could not force them to retreat or drive them off. They killed two horses and wounded seven others and they also wounded fifteen soldiers of whom three died of their wounds.

There was one thing remarkable about these Indians, that even when they were beaten, they turned and rallied to fight three times, a thing one has seldom seen among these people. When they saw that our people were wounding and killing them they fled for refuge to a rapid and flowing river, and the horsemen and light infantry went in pursuit and wounded many of them, while others decided to scour the country and go to other pueblos which were deserted, and in them they found many large jars of the wine of the country stored underground in places like cellars. They spent five days among these villages scouring the country, and as all of these were deserted and abandoned by their inhabitants, they returned to the river Achile.[1] Cortés again sent to summon all the pueblos on the other side of the river which were

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[1] Chila?

still at war to make peace, and, as our troops had already killed many of them, the Indians feared our falling on them again, and for this reason they sent to say that they would come within four days, that they were seeking jewels of gold to present to him. Cortés waited the four days when they said that they would come, and as they did not come then, he promptly ordered [an attack to be made] on a very large pueblo situated near a lagoon, which was very strong on account of its swamps and rivers, ... they were to cross the lagoon on a dark and drizzling night in numerous canoes which he had promptly ordered to be collected and tied together two by two and in other single ones, and on well-made rafts [steering] towards a part of the pueblo where they could neither be seen nor heard from the town itself, and many of our Mexican allies crossed without being seen . . . . . and fell on the pueblo and destroyed it, and looted it and gained much spoil, and our allies carried off all the property that the natives possessed. When the Indians saw this, within five days nearly all the pueblos in the neighbourhood made peace, except some pueblos which were so far out of the way that our people were not able to go to them at that time.

Not to waste more words on this story I will omit telling of many things that happened and will only say that Cortés then founded a town with one hundred and twenty settlers, and among these he left twenty seven horsemen and thirty six musketeers and crossbowmen so that they numbered one hundred and twenty in all. This town was named Santistevan del Puerto and stands about a league from Chila. To the settlers who peopled that town he apportioned and gave in encomienda all the pueblos which had made peace, and he left as Captain of them and his representative one Pedro Vallejo.

While Cortés was in that town ready to start for Mexico,

he learnt for certain that three pueblos which were at the head of the rebellion of that province and had been concerned in the death of many Spaniards, were on the move again, although they had given their fealty to His Majesty and made peace, and they were persuading and luring the other pueblos in the neighbourhood and saying that after Cortés had returned to Mexico with the horsemen and soldiers, some day or night they would fall upon the settlers who remained behind and would have a good feast off them. When Cortés knew the whole truth, he ordered their houses to be completely destroyed by fire, but they soon made a new settlement.

Let me say that, before we had set out from Mexico on this expedition, Cortés had ordered them to send him from Vera Cruz a vessel laden with wine and provisions, preserves, biscuits, and horseshoes, for at that time there was no wheat in Mexico with which to make bread. While the barge was going on its course in the direction of Panuco, laden with all that Cortés had ordered, it seems that there arose severe northerly gales and struck the vessel so that she was lost, and only three persons were saved, who, supported on some boards, reached the shore of an Island three or four leagues from the main land where there were some great sandy beaches frequented by many seals which came out by night to sleep on the beaches, and they killed the seals, and with fire which they made from sticks of wood, in the way that throughout the Indies people make it, who know how to do so, they were able to roast the flesh of the seals, and they dug in the middle of the island and made a sort of well and took out water that was somewhat brackish ; and there was a fruit which looked like figs, so with the flesh of the seals and fruit and brackish water they kept themselves alive more than two months. As in the town of Santistévan they were awaiting the arrival of the fresh supplies and horse-

shoes, Cortés wrote to Mexico to his Mayordomos to know why they had not sent the relay of supplies, and as soon as they received this notice through Cortes's letter, they felt sure that the barge had been lost, and the Mayordomos of Cortés promptly sent a small vessel in search of the barge that was lost, and it pleased God that they touched on the island where the three surviving Spaniards were [stranded] who made smoke signals both by night and day, and as soon as they saw the vessel they were delighted, and they were taken on board and came to the town. One of these men was called something Ciciliano, a settler in Mexico.

Let us leave this and say that while Cortés was already on his way to Mexico, as he had news that many pueblos which stood among some very steep sierras had rebelled and were making war on other pueblos which were at peace with us, he decided to go there before entering Mexico.

As he went on his way, the people of that province heard of it, and lay in wait for him at a bad pass and fell on the rear of the baggage and killed some of the carriers and robbed them of their loads, and as it was a bad road on which to defend the baggage the horsemen went to their assistance and [the enemy] disemboweled two horses ; when they arrived at some villages they paid them well out for it, for as many of our Mexican allies went with them, in order to avenge the robberies in the bad pass and road which I have mentioned, they killed and captured many Indians and even the Cacique and his captain, and these were hanged after they had given back the things that had been robbed.

When this was accomplished Cortés ordered the Mexicans to do no more damage, and sent to summon all the chieftains and priests of the village to make peace, and they came and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and

the office of Cacique he ordered to be held by a brother of the Cacique whom they had hanged, and he left them in their homes pacified and well chastised. Then he returned to Mexico.

Before going any further I wish to say that in all the provinces of New Spain there are no people fouler or more evil or with worse habits than these of the province of Panuco for "todos eran someticos y se enbudavan por partes traseras," an obscenity never heard of in the world, and they were sacrificers [of human beings] and excessively cruel as well as drunkards and filthy and evil and they were guilty of thirty other vices.

If we look into it, they were chastised with blood and fire two or three times, and other greater evils overtook them in having as Governor Nuño de Guzman who as soon as the Government was given to him made slaves of nearly all of them and sent them to be sold in the Islands, as I will relate more fully in its time and place. Let us go back to our story and I will tell what Cortés heard and did after his return to Mexico.

CHAPTER CLIX.

How Cortés and the King's officers decided to send to His Majesty all the gold that had accrued to the royal fifth from the spoils of Mexico, and how there was sent separately the personal property of gold and jewels which had belonged to Montezuma and Guatemoc, and what happened about it.

ABOUT the same time that Cortés returned to Mexico from his expedition to Panuco, and occupied himself with the peopling and rebuilding of the city, Alonzo de Ávila already often mentioned by me in former chapters, had returned from the island of Santo Domingo and reported on the subjects he had been sent to negotiate with the

Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars who were the Governors of all the Islands, and the message he brought was that they gave us authority to conquer the whole of New Spain and to brand slaves according to the instructions that were sent, and to divide and make allotments of the Indians as was customary in the Islands of Española, Cuba and Jamaica.[1]

This permission which they gave was to be valid up to the time that His Majesty was informed of it, or should be pleased to send other orders, and the Geronimite Friars themselves at once wrote him an account of this and sent a ship post haste to Castile, and at that time His Majesty who was still a youth, was in Flanders, and there he learnt what the Geronimite Friars were sending him.

They rendered no account of this to the Bishop of Burgos, for they were aware that he, in his position of President [of the Council] of the Indies, was very hostile to us, nor would they consult with him on many other matters of importance, for they were very ill pleased with his proceedings.

Let us leave this matter of the Bishop and repeat that as Cortés looked on Alonzo de Ávila as a very daring person, and was not on very good terms with him, he always wished to keep him at a distance, for truly if when Cristóbal de Tápia came with the commissions Alonzo de Ávila had been in Mexico (he was in the Island of Santo Domingo at the time) as he was a follower of the Bishop of Burgos and had been his servant, and Tápia had brought letters for him, he would have been a great opponent to Cortés and his affairs. For this reason Cortés always tried to keep him far from his person, and when he returned from this voyage he chose that occasion to allot Cuautitlan[2]

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[1] Xamayca in the text.

[2] Gualtitan in the text.

to him so as to content and please him, and gave him certain pesos de oro, and with the fair words and promises, as well as the allotment of the town already mentioned which was a very good one and very profitable, he made so firm a friend and follower of him that he sent him to Castile, and with him his captain of the Guard named Antonio de Quiñones, and these two went as proctors of New Spain and of Cortés, and they took two ships and carried with them fifty eight thousand Castellanos[1] in bars of gold. They also took with them what we called the private treasure of the great Montezuma which Guatemoc had in his keeping, and indeed it was a fine present for our great Caesar, for it contained many very rich jewels and some of the pearls were the size of filberts, and there were many chalchihuites which are fine stones like emeralds, and there was even one as broad as the palm of a hand, and many others so numerous that, so as to avoid delay, I will not stop to describe them or call them to mind. We also sent some pieces of the bones of giants which were found in a Cue or Oratory in Coyoacan, similar to those other great bones which were given to us in Tlaxcala which we had sent on the first occasion, and these were even larger. They also took three tigers[2] and other things that I cannot now call to mind.

The Municipality of Mexico wrote to His Majesty by these proctors, and so too did the greater number of us Conquistadores write jointly with Cortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo and the treasurer Julian de Alderete and one and all spoke of the many and good and loyal services that Cortés and all of us Conquistadores had rendered him and would continue to render him, and related what had happened to us since we had started

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[1] Castellano, an ancient Spanish coin.

[2] Jaguars.

to capture the city of Mexico, and how the South Sea had been discovered, and it was certainly considered to be a very valuable discovery. We also petitioned His Majesty to send us bishops and monks of the different orders who should be of a blameless life and doctrine so as to aid us more firmly to implant our holy Catholic faith in these parts, and we unanimously begged that he would be pleased to give the government of this New Spain to Cortés who was his good and loyal servant, and that he would grant the favour to us Conquistadores and our children, that all the royal offices such as treasurer, accountant, agents and notaries public, trustees and governors of forts, should not be given to other persons, but should be retained among us. We begged him not to send any lawyers, for they would turn the country upside down with their books and lawsuits and dissentions would ensue, and the affair of Cristóbal de Tápia who came directed by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca the Bishop of Burgos, was brought to his knowledge, and how he was not a fit person for the government, and that New Spain would be lost if he remained as governor; and would he [His Majesty] be graciously pleased to ascertain beyond doubt what became of the letters and reports which we had written to him, giving an account of all the happenings in this New Spain, for we felt very sure that the Bishop himself had not sent them on to him, but would rather have written the very opposite of what had happened so as to favour his friend Diego Velásquez and Cristóbal de Tápia with the intention of marrying him to one of his relations named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and [we stated] how he [Tápia] presented certain decrees which came already signed and addressed by the Bishop of Burgos, and that we all bowed down to the ground to obey them and how they were obeyed. But seeing that this Tápia was no good for war

and had neither the spirit nor judgment to fit him for a governor, that [the Conquistadores] appealed against the decrees until they would acquaint his royal person with all that had taken place as we were now informing him and making him aware, as loyal vassals bound to our King and Lord, and that now, whatever move he might be pleased to command, here we were with our breasts to the ground ready to fulfil his royal orders.

We also begged him to be pleased to send an order to the Bishop of Burgos not to interfere in anything concerning Cortés or us, for it would entail breaking the thread of many matters relating to conquests and the pacification of provinces which he alone was able to carry out in this New Spain, for this same Bishop had given orders to the officials in the House of Trade in Seville named Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan López de Recalte not to permit any supply of arms or soldiers or any support to pass for Cortés or for the soldiers who were with him. We also reported how Cortés had gone to pacify the province of Panuco and had left it at peace, and the very fierce battles that he fought with the natives of that province, and that they were a very pugnacious and warlike people, and how the people of that province had killed the captains sent by Francisco de Garay and all their soldiers because they did not know how to conduct their wars skilfully; and that Cortés had expended on that expedition over sixty thousand pesos which he was claiming from the officials of the Royal Treasury and they did not want to pay them. We also informed him how Garay was now preparing a fleet in the Island of Jamaica and was coming to settle at the Rio Panuco, and, in order to prevent the same fate happening to him as to his captains who were killed, we begged His Majesty to send him an order not to leave the island until the province was entirely pacified, because we would conquer and hand it

over to him, for if he should come at that time, and the natives of that territory should see two captains in command, there would be risings and attempts to sow discord especially on the part of the Mexicans. Many other things were written, besides Cortés for his own part left no subject in the inkstand and gave so full an account of all that had happened [in his letter] that it covered twenty one pages, and inasmuch as I read and understood them all very well, I make it known here as I have stated it. In addition to this Cortés sent to beg his Majesty to give him permission to go to the Island of Cuba to capture its Governor named Diego Velásquez and to send him to Castile in order that His Majesty might have him punished there, so that he should no longer disturb and excite commotions in New Spian, for he had sent orders from the Island of Cuba to have Cortés killed.

Let us leave these letters and speak of the favourable voyage which our proctors accomplished after leaving the port of Vera Cruz on the twentieth day of the month of December in the year fifteen hundred and twenty two, and with good weather they got through the Bahama channel, and on the way two of the three tigers they were taking with them broke loose and wounded some of the sailors, and they determined to kill the one that was left for he was very fierce and they could not manage him. They proceeded on their voyage as far as the Island named Terceira,[1] and Antonio de Quiñones who was captain prided himself on being very valiant and amorous; it appears that he became entangled with a woman in that island about whom some quarrel arose, and they stabbed him so that he died and Alonzo de Ávila remained the sole captain.

As he was going on his way to Spain with the two ships, when not far from the Island, the French pirate Juan

[1] Tercera in the text

Florin, fell on them and seized the gold and the ships and captured Alonzo de Ávila and carried him a prisoner to France. About the same time Juan Florin robbed another ship that came from the Island of Santo Domingo and took over twenty thousand pesos de oro and a great quantity of pearls and sugar and hides out of it and returned with it all to France a very rich man, and he made great presents to the king and to the Admiral of France of the objects and pieces of gold brought from New Spain, and all France was astonished at the riches we were sending to our great Emperor. Even the King of France himself became more covetous than before of taking a share in the Islands and in this New Spain.

It was then that he said that only with the gold sent to him from these Islands our Lord was able to make war on his France, and yet at that time Peru was not conquered, nor was there any knowledge of it, but only, as I have said, of New Spain and the Islands of Santo Domingo and San Juan and Cuba and Jamaica. It is reported that the King of France said or sent word to our Emperor that as he and the King of Portugal had partitioned the world without giving him a share, that they had better produce the Will of our father Adam as proof that he had left them as heirs and lords of these lands which they had seized between the two of them, without giving any of them to him ; and for this reason he [the King of France] was justified in robbing and taking all he could on the sea. He again promptly ordered Juan Florin to go back with another fleet and seek a livelihood on the sea.

On his return from that voyage as soon as he had taken a great booty of all sorts of cloth, he fell in between Spain and the Canary Islands with three or four powerful ships of the Biscayan fleet and some on one side and some on the other engaged Juan Florin and defeated and routed him and took him prisoner with many other Frenchmen

and they captured his ships and the cloth. They carried Juan Florin and the other captains as prisoners to the House of Trade at Seville, and they were sent captive to His Majesty at the Court, and as soon as he [the Emperor] heard of it, he ordered that justice should be meted out to them on the road, and at the port of Pico they were hanged, and this was the end of our gold and of the Captains who carried it and of Juan Florin who stole it.

Let us get back to our story; they took Alonzo de Ávila as a prisoner to France and placed him in a fortress, for as he was in charge of so much gold they thought to get a good ransom for him and therefore guarded him well.

Alonzo de Ávila managed to come to such an understanding with the French gentleman who had him in charge or who held him prisoner, that in order that they might know in Castile how he was kept a prisoner and might come to ransom him, he arranged that all the letters and powers which he was bringing from New Spain should be despatched post haste and delivered at the Court of His Majesty to the Licentiate Nuñez, a cousin of Cortés who was counsellor at law to the Royal Council, or to Martin Cortés the father of the said Cortés who lived at Medellin, or to Diego de Ordás who was at the Court, and they went with such complete safety that they reached their hands, and they promptly forwarded them to His Majesty in Flanders and told the Bishop of Burgos nothing at all about it. However, the Bishop found it out and said that he rejoiced [to hear] that all the gold had been stolen and was lost, and he is reported to have said that the affairs of this traitor Cortés were bound to come to such an end, and he made other ugly remarks.

Let us leave the Bishop and turn to His Majesty who as soon as he was informed of the matter is said to have understood it all, and felt some grief at the loss of the gold

on the other hand he was delighted to see that they were sending him such riches so that the King of France should feel that with such presents as we were sending him he would be able to carry on war. He promptly sent orders to the Bishop of Burgos to give support and assistance in all matters concerning Cortés and New Spain and [said] that he was coming to Castile shortly and would decide the justice of the contentions and disputes between Velásquez and Cortés.

Let us leave this and say that as soon as we knew in New Spain about the loss of the gold and the wealth of treasure[1] and of the capture of Alonzo de Ávila and all the other matters noted by me above, we felt great grief at it, and Cortés promptly and without delay endeavoured to collect all the gold that it was possible to get together and to levy a tax on the low grade gold and silver which had been brought from Michoacan, so as to send it to His Majesty, and the tax was called "the Phoenix."[2]

I also wish to state that Alonzo de Ávila still retained that town of Cuautitlan which Cortés had given him, for at that time his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides did not hold it, not until three years later on did Gil Gonzáles come from the Island of Cuba, when Alonzo de Ávila was already free from imprisonment in France and had come to Yucatan as Accountant, and it was then that he gave authority to his brother to make use of it, for he never wished to give him the property.

Let us stop telling stories that don't help on my narrative and report all that happened to Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains whom Cortés had sent to settle the provinces already named by me, while Cortés was perfecting his preparations for the tax and the col-

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[1] De la recamara, that is the personal property of gold, jewels, etc. belonging to Montezuma.

[2] Fenis in the text.

lection of the gold to send to His Majesty. I know well that some interested readers will ask, why is it that when Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains [to undertake] the conquests and pacifications which I have already mentioned, that I did not finish my story about what they had done and what happened to each of them on their expeditions, so I must state again that I must go back very far in my story, and the reason that I give for this is that while they were going on their way to their provinces and conquests, at that very moment Cristóbal de Tápia so often mentioned by me, arrived at the Port of Villa Rica to take over the Government of New Spain.

As Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval were his most distinguished Captains and wise advisers, Cortés sent post haste to summon them to deliberate on what could be done in the matter, and get their support and assistance, so they suspended their conquests and pacifications and, as I have said, they came to this affair of Tápia which was more important for His Majesty's Service, for it was looked on as certain that if Tápia should remain as governor that New Spain and Mexico would rise in revolt again. At that moment also Cristóbal de Olid arrived from Michoacan (for it was near Mexico) which he found peaceful, and they [the inhabitants] gave him much gold and silver, and as he was recently married and his wife was young and handsome he hastened his coming.

Then immediately after this affair of Tápia the rising at Panuco took place, and Cortés went to pacify it, as I have related in a former chapter which tells about it. Then we had to write to His Majesty and send the gold and give authority to our proctors whom I have already mentioned, and on account of these distractions which came one after another I will now call the matter to mind:—and it happened in the manner I will now describe.

CHAPTER CLX.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived with his army at a pueblo called Tuxtepec,[1] and what he did there and how he afterwards went on to Coatzacoalcos and all the rest that happened to him. Mind one place is called Tuxtepec and the other Tututepec.[2]

WHEN Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived at a pueblo named Tuxtepec all the province made peace except some Mexicans who were concerned in the deaths of sixty Spanish men and women from Castile who had remained behind ill in that pueblo when Narvaez came, and that was the time when we were defeated in Mexico, and then they [the Mexicans] slew them in this same pueblo. About two months after the people I have spoken about had been killed, I went [there] with Sandoval and I lodged in a small tower which had been a temple with Idols and which they [the Spaniards] had fortified when they were attacked, and there they were surrounded and perished of hunger and thirst and wounds. I mention that I lodged in that little tower because there were many mosquitos in that pueblo of Tustepeque in the day time, and as the tower was very lofty and exposed to the breeze there were not so many [mosquitos] there as there were down below, and moreover it was near Sandoval's quarters.

To go back to our story, Sandoval endeavoured to seize the Mexican Captains who had attacked and killed them [the Spaniards] and he captured the chief of them and placed him on trial and for sentence ordered him to be

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[1] Tuxtepec, in the north of the State of Oaxaca on the River Papaloapan. Tustepeque in the text.

[2] Tututepec, in the south of the State of Oaxaca near the Pacific coast. Tutetepeque in the text.

burned, and there were many others who deserved the penalty of death as much as he did, but he let it pass and the one death paid for all.

When this was over he sent to summon to peace some pueblos of the Zapotecs, (another province about ten leagues distant from this town of Tuxtepec,) and they would not come, so he sent a Captain to bring them to peace. This was a man named Briones, often mentioned by me before, who was Captain of a sloop, and a good soldier in Italy according to his own account, and Sandoval gave him over one hundred soldiers, among them thirty musketeers and crossbowmen, and over a hundred allies from the pueblos which had made peace.

As Briones went on his way with his soldiers in good order, it seems that the Zapotecs were aware of his coming against their pueblos and they arranged an ambush on the road, which caused them [the Spaniards] to turn back in a hurry, rolling down some steep inclines, and more than a third of his soldiers were wounded and one of them died of his wounds. These hills where the Zapotecs live are so steep and difficult that horses cannot go among them, and the soldiers had to march on foot, one by one, in and out, along narrow paths, and there was always mist and dew and the paths were slippery. The Zapotecs were armed with very long lances, longer than ours are, with a fathom of cutting edge of stone knives which cut better than our swords, and with shields which cover the whole body, and many arrows, javelins and stones, and the natives were very daring and wonderfully lithe, and with a whistle or cry which they give among those hills the voice resounds and reverberates for a considerable time, as we should say like echoes.

So the Captain Briones returned with his men wounded and one of them dead, and he himself came back with an arrow wound.

The pueblo where he was defeated is called Tiltepec[1] and after it was brought to peace it was given in encomienda to a soldier named Ojeda the one eyed, who now lives in the town of Santo Alfonso. When Briones returned to make his report to Sandoval of what had happened, and told him what great warriors they [the Zapotecs] were, as Sandoval was in good spirits and Briones posed as being very valiant and was wont to tell how in Italy he had killed and wounded and cleft the heads and trunks of men, said Sandoval: "It seems to me Señor Capitan that these lands are different from those where you [formerly] went soldiering" and Briones, half angry, replied and said that he swore to the truth of his statements and that he would rather fight against cannon and great armies of enemies whether of Turks or Moors than against those Zapotecs, and he gave reasons for it, that appeared acceptable. Still Sandoval told him he wished he had not sent him, since he was thus defeated, for he believed that he would have shown more valour, as he boasted he had done in Italy.

Let us leave this expedition which did more harm than good, and say how this same Gonzalo de Sandoval sent to summon to peace another province, which was called Xaltepec.[2] These people were also Zapotecs and they border on other pueblos called those of the Mijes,[3] a very active and warlike people who had disputes with the people of Xaltepec, the same who I say were now summoned. As many as twenty Caciques and chieftains made peace and brought a present of gold in the form of jewels of various workmanship and ten small tubes of gold in grains which they had just then extracted from the mines.

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[1] San Miguel Tiltepec. Dist. of Ixtlan, Northern Oaxaca or Tiltepec. Dist. of Choapam, Northern Oaxaca. Teltepeque in the text.

[2] Xaltepec or Jaltepec in the District of Choapam. Xaltepeque in the text.

[3] Minxes in the text.

The Chieftains came clothed in very long cotton clothes which reached to the feet worked with much embroidery and they were, so to say, like Moorish bornouses. When they came before Sandoval they offered it [their present] with great reverence and he received it with pleasure, and ordered them to be given beads of Castile, and paid them honour and made much of them. They asked Sandoval to give them some Teules, for so they call the Spaniards in their language, to go with them against the pueblos of their enemies the Mijes who made war on them. As Sandoval could spare no soldiers at that time, to give them the help they asked for, because those who had gone with Briones were all wounded and others were sick and four were dead, for the country was very hot and unhealthy, he told them in pleasant phrases that he would send to Mexico to tell Malinche (for so they called Cortés) to send plenty of Teules, and that they must restrain themselves until they arrived, and meanwhile that ten of his companions would accompany them to examine the passes and the country so that they could go and make war against their enemies the Mijes. Sandoval only said this in order that we could go and see the pueblos and the mines where they extracted the gold they had brought, and in this way he dismissed all but three of them whom he ordered to stay and go with us. Then he promptly sent a soldier named Alonzo de Castillo, the decided, to examine the pueblos and mines I have spoken about, and Sandoval ordered me and six other soldiers to go with him and examine the mines thoroughly and the nature of the pueblos. I wish to explain why that Captain who went with us as leader was called Castillo the decided, and it was for the reason that I will now state:—

In the Company which Sandoval commanded there were three soldiers with the surname of Castillo, one of

them was very elegant and took pride in it at that time, and for this reason they called him Castillo the elegant,[1] of the other two Castillos, one was of such a nature that he was always thoughtful, and when he was spoken to, he delayed long in thinking what he should say, and when he replied or spoke it was some foolishness or something that made us laugh, and on this account they called him Castillo the deliberate.[2] The other was Alonzo Castillo who now went with us who spoke his thoughts quickly and answered much to the point about anything they asked him, and they called him Castillo the decided.[3]

Let us cease talking about trifles and relate how we went to that province to see the mines, and took many Indians with us from those pueblos, and with some things in the shape of troughs they washed in three rivers before us, and from all three they extracted gold and they filled four small tubes with it, each tube the length of the middle finger of one's hand and they were a little thicker than the quill of a Spanish duck; with this sample of the gold we returned to where Gonzalo de Sandoval was stationed and he was delighted thinking that the country was rich. He promptly set about making the division of those pueblos and that province among the settlers who were to remain there to people it, and he took for himself some pueblos called Huaspaltepec,[4] which at that time was the best thing there was in the province, very near the mines, and they even promptly yielded him over fifteen thousand pesos in gold. Sandoval believed that he was taking a very good thing and he entrusted the province of Xaltepec, whence we brought the gold, to Captain Luis Marin and thought that he was giving him an earldom, but they

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[1] El galan. [2] De los pensamientos. [3] De lo pensado.

[4] Guazpaltepeque in the text, near Playa Vicente on the Rio de Villa Alta.

all turned out very bad assignments, both that which Sandoval took as well as the one he gave to Luis Marin, and he even ordered me to stay in that province and gave me very good Indians with a good income, and would to God that I had taken them, they [the pueblos] were called Matlatan and Orizaba, where the Viceroys mills are now situated, and another pueblo called Ozotequipa,[1] but I did not want them, for it seemed to me, Sandoval being my friend, that if I did not go in his company I should not be acting up to my standard of personal honour, and Sandoval thoroughly understood my feelings, and so as to have me with him in the wars, if there should be any later on, acquiesced.

Let us leave this and relate that he named the town which he settled Medellin,[2] for so Cortés ordered him to do, because Cortés was born at Medellin in Estremadura.

At that time the port was at a river called Chalchocueca, which was the river to which we had given the name the 'Rio de Banderas' where we had gained sixteen thousand pesos by barter, and up that river proceeded the ships that came with merchandise from Spain, until the port was changed to Vera Cruz.

Let us leave this and go on our road to Coatzacoalcos which was distant a matter of seventy leagues from the town of Vera Cruz, which we had already settled. We entered into a province called Çitla[3] which was the coolest and the most thickly peopled and the best supplied with food that we had yet seen. The people at once made peace, and this province which I have mentioned is twelve

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[1] I cannot identify Matlatan, Orizaba and Ozotequipa, there is a Santiago Matatlan in the district of Tlacolula.

[2] This is going back; Sandoval settled Medellin, which is a little to the south of the modern Vera Cruz, sometime before arriving at Tuxtepec.

[3] This name has disappeared from the maps.

leagues long and about the same in breadth and all thickly peopled; and we arrived at the great river of Coatzacoalcos and sent to summon the Caciques of the pueblos which were the capitals of those provinces, and for three days they did not come nor did they send any reply, and on that account we thought that they intended war, and it is even said that they had made up their minds not to let us pass the river. They afterwards decided to come within five days, and they brought us food to eat and some jewels of very pure gold, and said that when we wanted to cross they would bring many large canoes. Sandoval thanked them greatly and took counsel with some of us as to whether we could dare to cross over all of us together at the same time in the canoes. What we thought best and advised was that four soldiers should cross over and observe the disposition of a village which was near the river, and should watch and endeavour to enquire and find out whether they were hostile, and that before crossing we should have in our power the principal Cacique who was named Tochel. So the four soldiers went over and found out all that we had sent them [to ascertain] and they returned to report to Sandoval that everything was peaceful and moreover the son of this same Cacique Tochel, for so he is called, came with them and brought another present of gold but it was not worth much. Then Sandoval caressed him and ordered him to bring a hundred canoes tied together two and two, and we passed the horses over the day after the feast of Espíritu Santo, and to cut the story short, we made a settlement in the pueblo which stood near the river, and it was a good place for sea traffic because the port lay four leagues down stream, and we called it the town of Espíritu Santo and we gave it that sublime name, on one account because on the feast of Espíritu Santo we defeated Narvaez, on another because that holy name was our

watchword when we defeated and captured him, and lastly because we crossed this river on this same day, and because all these towns came in peaceably without making war, and there we all of us settled, the flower of the gentlemen and soldiers who had come out from Mexico to settle with Sandoval. There was Sandoval himself and Luis Marin, Diego de Godoy, Captain Francisco de Medina, Francisco Marmolejo, Francisco de Lugo, Juan López de Aguirre, Hernando de Montesdoca, Juan de Salamanca, Diego Azamar, one Mansilla and another soldier named Mexia Rapapelo, Alonzo de Grado, the Licentiate Ledesma, Luis de Bustamante, Pedro Castellar, the Captain Briones, and I and many other gentlemen and persons of quality, and if I were to name them all here I could not finish quickly, but it may be taken for certain that we were wont to assemble in the Plaza for a rejoicing and review over eighty strong in horsemen, and eighty then was more than five hundred now-a-days, and the reason is that there were but very few horses there in New Spain and they were costly and only a few could afford to buy them.

Let us leave this and say how Sandoval apportioned those provinces and pueblos among us, after he had sent to visit them and form a judgment of the land, and examine the character of all the towns.

The provinces which he apportioned are those which I will now name:—

First of all Çitla, Coatzacoalcos and Huaspaltepec,[1] Tepeaca,[2] Chinantla[3] and the pueblos of the Zapotecs and [as well as] other pueblos which are situated on the other side of the river, the province of Copilco, Cimatan and

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[1] Guazpaltepeque in the text.

[2] Tepeaca, further on called Tepeca, not to be confounded with Tepeaca near Puebla.

[3] Chinanta in the text.

Tabasco and the mountains of Quechula,[1] all the [land of] the Zoques towards Chiapas,[2] and Zinacantan and all the [land of] the Quilines and Papanaguasta. These pueblos that I have named were held in allotment by us settlers who had settled in that town [of Espíritu Santo] and it would have been better if I had not remained there, for, as it afterwards turned out, the land was poor and many lawsuits arose with three towns which were founded later on. One was with Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, over Huaspaltepec and Chinantla and Tepeaca,[3] another was with the town of Tabasco over Cimatan and Copilco and another with Chiapas over the Quilines and Zoques, another was with Santo Alifonso over the Zapotecs, for all those towns were established after we settled at Coatzacoalcos. Had they left us all the districts that we held we should have been rich. The reason why they established these towns that I have mentioned was that His Majesty sent an order that all the Indian pueblos bordering on or nearest to each town were decreed to be within the boundaries [of that town] so that they clipped our wings on every side and left us in the lurch. This was the reason why, as time went on, Coatzacoalcos was deserted, and from being the best township of honourable Conquistadores that existed in New Spain, it is now a village of a few inhabitants.

To return to our story:—while Sandoval was looking after the peopling of that town and bringing other provinces to peace he received letters saying that a ship had entered the Rio de Ayagualulco, which is a port, although not a very good one, about fifteen leagues distant; and that in it there had come from the Island of Cuba, the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez, surnamed la Marcayda, the wife of Cortés, her brother Juan Juarez,

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[1] Cachula in the text. [2] Chiapa in the text. [3] Tepeca in the text.

who was later on a settler in Mexico, brought her and another lady who was her sister, and there came Villegas, he of Mexico, and his wife [called] the festive,[1] and his children and also the grandmother and many other married women. It also seems to me that Elvira López, [nicknamed] the tall,[2] arrived at that time, she was then the wife of Juan de Palma who came with us and died hanged, and afterwards she was the wife of a certain Argeta and Antonio Diosdado also came, he was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, and many others arrived whose names I do not remember.

As soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval heard about this, he in person and most of us Captains and soldiers went to fetch those ladies and the other persons they had brought in their company. I remember that at the time it rained so heavily we could not travel along the roads nor cross the rivers and streams for they came down so swollen that they overflowed their banks. As there had been heavy northerly gales, it was on account of the rough weather and to avoid being driven ashore that they had put into that port of Ayagualulco. The Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda and all her company were delighted to see us, and we promptly brought all those ladies and their company to our town at Coatzacoalcos. Sandoval sent the news of their arrival to Cortés post haste, and at once took them on the road to Mexico, and Sandoval himself and Briones and Francisco de Lugo and other gentlemen accompanied them.

When Cortés knew of it, it was said that he was very sorry that she had come, but did not show it. He gave orders for their reception and much honour was shown them in all the towns until they arrived in Mexico, and in that City there were rejoicings and tilting with reeds, and

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[1] La Zambrana. [2] La Larga.

within about three months of her arrival we heard a report that one night they found her dead from Asthma and that there had been a banquet the evening before and a great festival. Because I know nothing more about this than I have said we will touch no more on this delicate subject, which other persons spoke about more clearly and openly in the lawsuit that arose out of it later on before the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

Let us cease speaking of this affair that is past and gone and relate what happened to Villafuerte, who went to settle at Zacatula[1] and to Juan Álvarez the less[2] who went to Colima. On Villafuerte they made many attacks and killed some of his soldiers and the country was in revolt and wanted neither to obey nor to pay tribute, and neither more nor less happened with Juan Álvarez. When Cortés heard this he was sorry for it, and as Cristóbal de Olid had come from the affair at Michoacan, and was returning a rich man and had left the country at peace, it seemed to Cortés that he was the right man to go and secure and pacify those provinces of Zacatula and Colima. He [therefore] determined to send him as Captain and gave him fifteen horsemen and thirty musketeers and crossbowmen.

As he went on his way, when he had already arrived near Zacatula, the natives of that province awaited him very valiantly in a bad pass, and killed two soldiers and wounded fifteen, but nevertheless he conquered them and went on to the town where Villafuerte was stationed with the settlers who were established there. These did not care to go to the pueblos which had been apportioned to them lest they [the villagers] should prepare to kill them, as they had already killed four settlers in the pueblos assigned to them, for as a rule they began by appointing *encomenderos* to all the provinces and towns that were

[1] In the State of Guerrero.

[2] Juan Álvarez Chico.

settled, and as soon as these asked the natives for tribute they rose in revolt and killed all the Spaniards they could. When Cristóbal de Olid saw that he had quieted the province and the people had made peace, he went from Zacatula to Colima and found it at war, and he had some encounters with the natives and they wounded many of his soldiers, [however] he defeated them and left them peaceful. I do not know what became of Juan Álvarez Chico who went as Captain. I think he died at that town.

Then Cristóbal de Olid when he had quieted Colima and it appeared to him to be peaceful, returned to Mexico (for he was married to a beautiful Portuguese lady, whom I have already said was named Doña Felipa de Arauz or Zarauz) and he had hardly turned his back when the people of Colima and Zacatula rose again. At the same time Gonzalo de Sandoval had arrived at Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda and Juan Juarez and all their company, as I have already related in the Chapter that tells about it. Cortés decided to send him [Sandoval] as captain to pacify those provinces, and with the small number of horsemen that he then gave him and a matter of fifteen crossbowmen and musketeers, all old Conquistadores, he proceeded to Colima and punished two Caciques and handled the affair with such dexterity that the whole country remained completely pacified and never revolted again. He did the same thing at Zacatula and quickly returned to Mexico.

Let us go back to Coatzacoalcos and state that as soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval left for Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez nearly all the provinces which had been allotted rose against the settlers and we had the greatest trouble in pacifying them again. The first to revolt was Xaltepec of the Zapotecs, where the people lived among lofty and rugged mountains, and after this the people of Cimatan and Copilco, who live among great

rivers and swamps, rebelled, and other provinces rose in revolt, and even within twelve leagues of the town there were pueblos which killed their encomendero. We marched about quieting them with the greatest difficulty and while we were on an expedition with the Captain Luis Marin and an Alcalde ordinario and all the Regidores of the town, letters came to say that a ship had arrived in port in which had come Juan Bono de Quexo the Biscayan, and that he had come with the ship, which was a small one, up the river as far as the town, and said he had brought letters and decrees from His Majesty to notify us that we should promptly return to the town and desist from the [further] pacification of the province.

When we heard this news, as the Alcalde and the Regidores were [all] in the company of the Lieutenant Luis Marin, we went to see what it was that he [Juan Bono] wanted. After embracing us, and welcoming each other, for Juan Bono was very well known from the time when he came with Narvaez, he said that he begged us to be good enough to assemble in Cabildo as he wished to proclaim certain decrees of His Majesty and of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, and that he had brought many letters for all. It appears that Juan Bono had brought letters in blank with the signature of the Archbishop, and while they had gone to summon us from the pacification on which we were engaged, Juan Bono found out which of us were Regidores, and in the letter which he brought in blank he wrote the promises that the Bishop sent us if we should give up the country to Cristóbal de Tápia, whom Juan Bono refused to believe had returned to the Island of Santo Domingo, and the Bishop thought for certain that we would not receive him, and for that reason sent Juan Bono with that authority.

He brought to me as a Regidor a letter from the Bishop

himself written by Juan Bono. As soon as we had met in Cabildo and saw his despatches and decrees, (and he would never tell us what they were up to that moment) we quickly got rid of him by saying that Tápia had already returned to Castile, and that he had better go to Mexico where Cortés was, and there he might tell him what was suitable.

As soon as Juan Bono heard that Tápia was not in the country he desisted and was very sorrowful, and the next day he embarked and went to Villa Rica and thence to Mexico. I do not know what took place there, except that I have heard it said that Cortés helped him down to the coast and he returned to Castile.

Let us abstain from telling more stories, but it is right to add that all the time we stayed at that town there were never wanting hardships and conquests of the provinces that had revolted and let us go back and relate how Pedro de Alvarado fared in the expedition to Tututepec[1] and among its people.

CHAPTER CLXI.

How Pedro de Alvarado went to Tututepec to found a town and what happened to him in the pacification of that Province and the founding of the town.

We must go back a little to recount the setting out of Pedro de Alvarado to found Tututepec, it was as follows:—As soon as the City of Mexico was captured and it was known in all the districts and provinces that such a strong city had been razed to the ground, they sent to congratulate Cortés on his victory and to offer themselves as Vassals of His Majesty, and among the many great pueblos that came at that time there was one called

[1] Tututepeque in the text.

Tehuantepec[1] of the Zapotecs, and they brought a present of gold to Cortés and told him that there were other pueblos in their province somewhat remote named Tututepec which were their inveterate enemies and had come to make war on them because the people of Tehuantepec had given their fealty to His Majesty; that these towns were situated on the South Coast and that the people were very rich in gold in the form of jewels as well as in mines, and they begged Cortés with much importunity to give them horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to go against their enemies.

Cortés spoke to them very lovingly and told them that he wished to send Tonatio with them, for so they called Pedro de Alvarado, and he promptly gave him over one hundred and eighty soldiers, among them thirty five horsemen, and instructions to demand another twenty soldiers, chiefly crossbowmen, from Francisco de Orozco who was captain of the province of Oaxaca,[2] if that province were peaceable.

Carrying out his orders he [Alvarado] arranged his departure and set out from Mexico in the year [fifteen hundred and] twenty two, and Cortés directed him to go and inspect certain rocky hills on the way, which were called Ulamo, where [the people] were said to be in revolt, but he found them all peaceful and well disposed at that time.

He delayed more than forty days before reaching Tututepec, and the Lord of the pueblo and other chieftains when they knew that he was approaching near to their pueblo went out to receive him peaceably, and took him off to lodge in the most thickly peopled part of the pueblo where the Cacique had his Oratories and his large apart-

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[1] Teguantepeque in the text.

[2] Guaxaca in the text.

ments, and the houses were very close one to the other, and they were made of straw, for in that province they have no azoteas as it is a very hot country.

Alvarado took the advice of his Captains and soldiers that it was not a good thing to lodge in those houses so near one to the other, for if they were set on fire they could not protect themselves, and they agreed to go to the end of the pueblo. As soon as they were lodged the Cacique brought him very great presents of gold, and plenty to eat, and every day they stayed there he brought him very rich presents of gold.

As Alvarado saw that they possessed so much gold he ordered them to make some stirrups of fine gold like others which he gave them as patterns and they made and brought them to him. A few days later, he took the Cacique prisoner, because the people of Tehuantepec told Pedro de Alvarado that all that province intended to make war on him, and that when they lodged him among those houses where the Idols and chambers stood that it was in order to set fire to them, so that all of them [the Spaniards] should perish; and for this reason he made him prisoner. Other Spaniards of good faith and worthy of credence said that it was in order to extort much gold [from him] without bringing him to trial that he died in prison, and this is now accepted as certain, that one way or the other, that Cacique gave to Pedro de Alvarado over thirty thousand pesos, and he died from anger and from his imprisonment, and the Caciqueship went to his son, and he [Alvarado] got from him more gold than from his father. Then he sent to visit the pueblos in the neighbourhood and distributed them among the settlers and founded a town to which was given the name of Segura, because most of the settlers who peopled it had been formerly inhabitants of Segura de la Frontera, which was Tepeaca.

When this was accomplished and he had collected to-

gether a good sum in pesos de oro he took it to Mexico to give to Cortés.

It is also said that Cortés himself wrote to him that he should bring with him all the gold he was able to collect, in order to send it to His Majesty, because the Frenchmen had stolen all that he had sent by Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones, and that he should give no share of it to any one of the soldiers who were in his company.

When Alvarado was already prepared to start for Mexico certain soldiers most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, formed a conspiracy to kill Pedro de Alvarado and his brothers on the following day, because he was carrying off the gold without giving them their share, although they had begged for it many times, but he would not give it up, also because he did not give them good assignments of Indians. If a soldier named Trebejo who was in the conspiracy had not revealed the plot to him, they would have attacked them the following night. When Alvarado knew about it, (and they told him about the hour of vespers) he went out hunting on horseback near some huts, and some of those who were in the plot went on horseback in his company. Then to deceive them he said "Señores, I have got such a stitch in my side, let us go back to our quarters and call me a barber to bleed me."

As soon as he got back he sent to summon his brothers Jorge, Gonzalo and Gómez, all Alvarados, and the Alcaldes and Aguazils, and they seized those who were in the plot and according to verdict they hanged two of them, one named something de Salamanca a native of the county [of Salamanca], who had been a pilot, and the other named Bernaldino the Levantine, and with these two hangings he pacified the others, and he set off at once for Mexico with all the gold, and left the town settled. When the inhabitants who remained in the town saw that the allotments

that had been given them were no good and that the country was unhealthy and very hot, and many of them were ill, and the servants and slaves they had brought with them had died, and that there were many bats and mosquitos and even bed bugs, and above all that Alvarado had not divided the gold among them but had taken it with him, they decided to avoid wrangling and to abandon the settlement. Many of them went to Mexico, others to Oaxaca and they scattered over other parts.

When Cortés heard of this he sent to make enquiry about it, and he found out that the abandonment was agreed upon by the Alcades and Magistrates in Cabildo, and those who were concerned in it were condemned to death, and they appealed, and the punishment was [reduced to] banishment. This is what happened in the matter of Tututepec which was never afterwards peopled because it was unhealthy although the land was rich. When the natives of that country saw that the place was abandoned and what Alvarado had done was without reason or justice, they rebelled again, and Pedro de Alvarado returned to them and summoned them to make peace and without need to attack them they became peaceful.

Let us leave this and say that when Cortés had got together over eighty thousand pesos de oro to send to His Majesty together with the Phœnix tax he had invented, news came at that time that Francisco de Garay had arrived at Panuco with a great fleet, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXII.

How Francisco de Garay came from Jamaica to Panuco with a great fleet, and what happened to him and many things that took place.

As I have already said in another Chapter which deals with Francisco de Garay, he was a rich man and the Governor of the Island of Jamaica. He had heard news of our discovery of very rich lands during the expeditions of Hernando de Córdova and Juan de Grijalva, and how we had carried off twenty thousand pesos de oro to the Island of Cuba, and Diego Velásquez who was Governor of that Island had got possession of them, and that at that very time Cortés was setting out with another fleet, and Garay had a covetous desire to go and conquer some lands [himself.] He had much better equipment than any of the others, and he obtained news and information from Anton de Alaminos (whom we had brought as chief pilot when we made our discoveries) to the effect that from the Rio Panuco onwards there were very rich and thickly populated countries, which he might petition His Majesty to grant him.

After Garay had been thoroughly informed by the Pilot Alaminos about the discovery, and by other pilots who were with Alaminos at the time of the discovery, he determined to send his Mayordomo, named Juan Torralva, with money and letters to the court to beg the gentlemen who at that time were president and judges for His Majesty to bestow upon him the Government of the Rio de Panuco and whatever further country he might discover and settle. As at that time His Majesty was in Flanders and Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano was president of the Council of the Indies and directed everything with the Licentiate

Zapata and the Licentiate Vargas and the Secretary Lope de Conchillas, they sent him [Francisco de Garay] a commission as Adelantado of the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo and all [the land] he could explore. On the strength of this commission he immediately despatched three ships with as many as two hundred and forty soldiers with many horses and musketeers and crossbowmen and sent as their captain a certain Alonzo de Álvarez Pineda or Pinedo often mentioned by me before.

When he sent that fleet, as I have already related, the Indians of Panuco defeated it and killed the Captain Pineda and all the horses and soldiers he had with him, except about seventy soldiers who came to the Port of Vera Cruz in a ship under the command of Camargo and joined our company.

When Garay received no news of those ships, he sent two other ships after them with many soldiers, horses, and supplies under the command of Miguel Díaz de Ausuz and a certain Ramíres, already mentioned by me many times. These also came to our port when they had ascertained that neither hair nor hide of those already sent by Garay was to be found at the Rio Panuco, except the two wrecked ships. All these things I have already told in my story, but it is necessary to go back to the beginning so that it may be clearly understood. Now to return to our business and story. When Francisco de Garay saw that he had already expended many pesos de oro, and he heard of the good fortune of Cortés, and of the great cities that he had discovered, and about the great amount of gold and jewels that there was in the country, he grew more envious and covetous than ever, and his desire increased to come in person and bring the largest fleet he could, and he hunted up eleven ships and two sloops which made a total of . . . . sail and he got together one hundred and thirty six horses and eight hundred and forty soldiers, most of

them musketeers and crossbowmen, and he fitted them out well with all that was necessary, which was cassava bread and salt pork and sun-dried beef, for there was already a sufficiency of cattle, and as he was a rich man, and it all came from his own crops he did not feel the expense, and there was a superabundance of men and horses who flocked to the Island of Jamaica for the equipment of that fleet.

In the year fifteen hundred and twenty three he started from Jamaica with all his fleet on the day of San Juan de Junio[1] and reached the Island of Cuba at a port named Xagua, and there he learned that Cortés had already pacified the whole Province of Panuco and established a town and had spent in the pacification more than sixty thousand pesos de oro, and had sent to petition His Majesty to grant him the Government of that country as well as that of New Spain. When they told him of the heroic actions done by Cortés and his companions in New Spain, and when he heard the news that with two hundred and sixty six soldiers we had defeated Pánfilo de Narvaez who had brought with him over thirteen hundred soldiers including a hundred horsemen and as many more musketeers and crossbowmen and eighteen cannon, he felt afraid of Cortés's good fortune. During the time that Garay was at the port of Xagua many settlers in the Island of Cuba came to see him and eight or ten of the principal persons of that town joined his company, and the Licentiate Zuazo who, under orders from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, had come to that Island to take the *Residencia*[2] of Diego Velásquez also came to see him. When Garay was conversing with the Licentiate about Cortés's good fortune and [saying] that he feared he would have trouble with him about the Province of Panuco,

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[1] Midsummer Day.

[2] Residencia. The examination and formal account demanded of a person holding Public Office.

[he] Garay begged him [the Licentiate] to go with him on that voyage to act as mediator between him and Cortés, and the Licentiate replied that he could not go at that time before he had taken the Residencia, but that he would be there soon.

Then Garay at once gave orders to set sail and steer in the direction of Panuco, and he had a stormy time on the way, and the pilots he had with him went higher up towards the Rio de Palmas and he dropped anchor in the river itself on Santiago's day, and at once sent to examine the country. The captains and soldiers whom he sent did not consider it a good country, or had no wish to stay there but to go on to the Rio de Panuco proper (because it was nearer to Mexico), and to the settlement and town that Cortés had established. When that news was brought to him Garay decided to exact an oath from all his soldiers that they would not desert their banners and would obey him as their Captain General. He appointed Alcaldes and Magistrates and all that was necessary for a town, and he said that the town was to be called Garayana. He ordered all the horses and soldiers to be disembarked and when the ships were empty he sent them along the coast under a captain named Grijalva, and he [Garay] and all his army went by land along the coast near to the sea, and he marched for two days through a bad uninhabited marshy country, and crossed a river which came from some mountains which they could see from the road, at a distance of about five leagues, and they crossed that great river on rafts and in some broken canoes which they found. As soon as they had crossed the river they came on a pueblo which had been deserted that very day, and found plenty to eat, maize, and even poultry, and there were plenty of very good guavas. Then in that pueblo Garay captured certain Indians who understood a little of the Mexican language. He flattered them and gave them shirts and

sent them as messengers to other pueblos which they told him were near by, in order that they should receive him peaceably. After going round a marsh, he went on to some pueblos, which were those spoken about, and they received him peaceably and gave him plenty to eat and many fowls of the country and other birds like geese which they captured in the lagoons. As many of the soldiers he took with him were wearied, and it seems that he did not give them the things the Indians had brought for them to eat, some of them mutinied, and went off to rob the Indians of the pueblos through which they had passed. They halted in this pueblo for three days, and on the following day they went on their way with guides and reached a great river which they were unable to cross without canoes which were supplied by the Indians of the peaceable pueblos where they had halted. They managed to take over all the horses by swimming, each canoe as it was rowed across leading a horse by a halter, and the horses were numerous and not very clever. On emerging from the river they got into some bad swamps and after suffering great hardship arrived at the land of Panuco.

When they arrived there they expected to find food, but all the towns were stripped of maize and other supplies, and were much disturbed, and this was on account of the wars Cortés had waged against them a short time before. If they possessed any food they had garnered it and placed it in safety, for when they saw so many Spaniards and horses they were afraid of them and deserted their pueblos, and where Garay looked for repose he found more hardship. In addition to this as the houses where they lodged had been deserted there were many bats and bugs and mosquitos, and everything went against them. Next another ill fortune befel them, the ships which were coming along the coast and bringing plentiful supplies had

not reached port nor had they been heard of. This they learned from a Spaniard who came to visit them or whom they found in a town which belonged to the settlers who were established at the town of Santistevan del Puerto. This man had fled from fear of punishment for a crime that he had committed, and he told them that there was a [Spanish] settlement very near by, and that in Mexico there was very good land and that the settlers who lived there were rich. When the soldiers whom Garay had brought with him heard from this Spaniard who conversed with them that the land in Mexico was good, and that of Panuco was not as good, many of them deserted and started for the pueblos to loot them, and went on to Mexico.

About that time, seeing that his soldiers were in revolt and he was not able to prevent it, Garay sent one of his Captains named Ocampo to the town of Santistevan to find out the intentions of Cortes's lieutenant, named Pedro de Vallejo, and he even wrote to him informing him that he brought commissions and authority from His Majesty constituting him Governor and Adelantado of those provinces and how he had made the Rio de Palmas in his ships, and about the bad road and the hardships that he had endured. Vallejo paid much honour to Ocampo and those who went with him, and gave them a pleasant reply, and told them that Cortés would be delighted to have such a good neighbour as Governor but that the conquest of that country had been a great expense to him and that His Majesty had been pleased to grant the government to him, but that he [Garay] could come when he pleased with his army and that he would do all he could to serve him, and he begged him to order his soldiers to do no injury to the Indians and not to rob them, for two pueblos had come to him to complain about it. After saying this Vallejo wrote post

haste to Cortés, and even sent him Garay's letter, and also made Gonzalo de Ocampo himself write another letter.

He sent to ask what Cortés's orders were and [to say] that he must either send many soldiers promptly or must come in person.

As soon as Cortés saw the letter he sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo, a brother of the Gonzalo de Ocampo who had come with Garay, and he sent with them the authority that he held showing that His Majesty had commanded that all that he might conquer should be held by himself until the question of rights between him and Diego Velásquez should be cleared up and that this should be notified to Garay.

Let us stop talking about this and say that when Gonzalo de Ocampo returned with the answer of Vallejo to Francisco de Garay, it seemed to him a good answer and he came with all his army to occupy [a position] even nearer to the town of Santistevan del Puerto. Pedro de Vallejo, acting upon the information obtained from five of Garay's soldiers who had come to the town [of Santistevan], that the mutineers had halted in a fine and large town called Nachapalan and were very careless and never kept watch, had already made his arrangements with the settlers in the town [Santistevan], so Vallejo's men who knew the country well fell on Garay's people and captured over forty soldiers and carried them off to their town of Santistevan del Puerto. These men were glad of their imprisonment and the reason Vallejo gave for capturing them was that they went about looting the country without showing the commissions and authority that he [Garay] had brought.

When Garay saw this he was much distressed and again sent to Vallejo to say that he must release his soldiers, threatening him with punishment from our Lord and King.

Vallejo answered that as soon as he should see the Royal commissions he would obey them and place them on his head, and it would have been better for Ocampo to have brought and displayed them when he came, so that they might be carried out, and he begged him to order his soldiers to desist from robbing and looting His Majesty's pueblos. At that moment the captains arrived whom Cortés sent with his powers, and as Diego de Ocampo was at that time chief Alcalde for Cortés in Mexico, he began by issuing injunctions against Garay to prevent him entering the country, because His Majesty had commanded that Cortés was to hold it. Several days were taken up with demands and replies, and meanwhile each day many of Garay's soldiers deserted, they were present at dusk and absent at dawn, and Garay saw that Cortés's captains brought with them many horsemen and musketeers and that more arrived every day, and he learned that he had lost two of his ships which he had sent along the coast in a northerly gale which is a foul wind. The Lieutenant Vallejo sent to request the other ships, which were at the mouth of the harbour, to come at once into the river lest some disaster and storm like the last should overtake them, if not that he should treat them as pirates who go about and plunder. The captains of the ships replied that Vallejo had no business to give orders in the matter, and that they would come in when they chose. Just then Francisco de Garay was afraid of Cortés's good luck, and during this critical time the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo and Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval held secret conversations with the followers of Garay, and with the captains who were in the ships in port, and arranged with them to come into the harbour and go over to Cortés. Martin de San Juan a native of Lepusco and Castro Mocho, ship masters, surrendered themselves with their ships to the Lieutenant Vallejo for Cortés, and

as he held the ship in the name of Cortés, Vallejo went in them to demand of the Captain Juan de Grijalva, who was [still] at the entrance of the port either to come inside and anchor, or go off to sea whenever he pleased. He [Grijalva] answered him by firing many shots at him. Then they sent a King's notary named Vicente López in a boat to ask him to come into the port, and he also carried letters to Grijalva from Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval and from Diego de Ocampo with offers and promises that Cortés would grant him favours. When he saw the letters and that all the other ships had entered the river, Juan de Grijalva did so also with his flagship, and Vallejo told him that he was a prisoner in the name of the Captain Hernando Cortés; but he released him at once as well as the others who had been arrested.

When Garay saw how little authority he possessed and that his soldiers had deserted and mutinied, and his ships had gone ashore and the rest were taken for Cortés, if he was very sorrowful before they took them from him, he was still more so when he saw himself worsted, and he promptly demanded with many protests made to Cortes's captains, that they should give him back his ships and all his soldiers as he wished to return and settle at the Rio de Palmas, and he exhibited the commissions and authority that he had brought for that purpose, and in order to have neither contentions nor quarrels with Cortés he wished to go back. Those gentlemen answered that he might go and good luck attend him, and that they would order all the mutinous soldiers who were in the province and the pueblos to return at once to their captain and go in the ships, and they would order everything to be supplied to him that was necessary as well in the matter of food as of arms and cannon and powder, and that they would write to Cortés so that he might supply very fully everything of which there was need.

Garay was contented with this reply and offer, and a proclamation was promptly made in that town and in all the pueblos, and Alguaciles were despatched to seize the mutinous soldiers and bring them to Garay. Notwithstanding all the penalties that were threatened the proclamation was in vain, and profited nothing; some of those who were brought in as prisoners said that having arrived in the province of Panuco they were no longer bound to follow him [Garay], nor to keep the oath that he had exacted from them, and others were more outspoken and said that Garay was not a captain who knew how to command, nor a fighting man. When Garay saw that proclamations were of no avail, nor the kindly efforts which Cortés's captains seemed to him to be making to bring in his soldiers, he was in despair. Then, when he saw himself abandoned by all, the gentlemen who had come from Cortés advised him to write at once to Cortés himself and they would act as intercessors with him in order that he should return to the Rio de Palmas, [saying] that they believed Cortés to be so well disposed that he would help him in all that he was able, and that Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval would be surety for it, and would see that he carried it out.

Garay promptly wrote to Cortés giving him a very full account of his voyage, misfortune and hardships, [and said that] if his excellency ordered it he would come to see him and communicate things helpful to the service of God and His Majesty, commending his honour and estate to him [Cortés] and begging him to carry it [the order] out in a way which would in no way diminish his [Garay's] honour. Pedro de Alvarado, Diego de Ocampo and Gonzalo de Sandoval also wrote entreating Cortés on Garay's behalf that he should be assisted in every way.

As they had been great friends in times gone by, when Cortés saw those letters he was moved to pity Garay and

answered him with much gentleness that he was sorry for all his hardships and that he should come to Mexico and he promised to help him in every way he could with the greatest good will, and he should trust to his power, and he ordered that wherever he should pass great honour be paid him and everything provided that he stood in need of, and he even sent refreshments for him along the road, and when he arrived at Texcoco he had a banquet prepared for him and on his arriving at Mexico Cortés and many gentlemen went out to meet him, and Garay was confounded at seeing so many cities and more so when he saw the great city of Mexico. Cortés at once took him off to his palaces which were then being newly built.

When Cortés and Garay found themselves together, Garay related to Cortés his misfortunes and hardships and charged him to amend matters. Cortés promised it to him very willingly and even Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval proved themselves friendly intercessors, and within three or four days of his arrival there was talk of marrying a daughter of Cortés named Doña Catalina Cortés or Pizarro, who was a child, to a son of Garay, who was his heir, (and Cortés promised him as a dowry with Doña Catalina Cortés a great number of pesos de oro,) and that Garay himself should go to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and Cortés would supply him with everything that was needful for the settlement and pacification of that province, and he even promised to give him some of his own captains and soldiers so that with their help he would be relieved from anxiety in the wars that might ensue, and with these promises and the good will that Garay met with from Cortés he was very cheerful, and I am convinced that Cortés would carry it out in the way he had agreed and arranged.

Let us leave all this about the marriage and the promises and I will relate how at that time Garay went to lodge in

the house of Alonzo de Villanueva, because Cortés was building his houses and palaces and they were of vast size and had as many courts as the Labyrinth of Crete and as it appears that Alonzo de Villanueva had been in Jamaica, when Cortés sent him to purchase horses, (but I cannot say for certain if this was then or afterwards) he was a very great friend of Garay, and on account of this acquaintance Garay himself begged Cortés that he might go to Villanueva's house, and he [Cortés] paid him all the honour he could and all the settlers in Mexico did the same.

I wish to say that Pánfilo de Narvaez, (he whom we had defeated, as I have already related before) was in Mexico at that time, and he came to visit and talk to Francisco de Garay, and they embraced one another and each one began to talk of his hardships and misfortunes, and Narvaez who spoke very freely in the course of conversation said, half laughing, Señor Adelantado Don Francisco de Garay I have been told by some of the soldiers who mutinied and deserted from you that you said to the gentlemen whom you brought in your fleet "Look to it that we behave like men and fight stoutly against these soldiers of Cortés, do not let them catch us unprepared as they caught Narvaez." Well! Señor Francisco de Garay, when they fought with me they destroyed this eye, and robbed from me and burned all I possessed and even killed my ensign and many soldiers and they captured my captains but they never caught me as unprepared as they have told you I was. I would have you know that there has never been in the world so lucky a man as Cortés, and he has such captains and soldiers that one can quote each one of them as fortunate in his undertakings as Octavius, in conquests as Julius Cæsar, and in overcoming difficulties and fighting battles as Hannibal. Garay replied, there was no necessity to tell him so, one could see what he had

stated in their deeds, for what [other] man in all the world would, with so few soldiers, have dared to run his ships ashore, and trust himself to make war among such strong towns and great cities.

Narvaez answered reciting other great deeds and praises of Cortés and one and the other kept up the talk about the conquest of this New Spain in the manner of a conference.

Let us leave these flatteries that took place between them and say how Garay begged Cortés to give Narvaez permission to return to the Island of Cuba to his wife named Maria de Valenzuela who was rich on account of the mines and the good Indians which Narvaez owned, and, in addition to Garay begging it of him with many entreaties, the wife of Narvaez herself had sent to beg Cortés in writing to let her husband go, for it appears they were known to one another when Cortés was living in Cuba, and they were compadres.[1] So Cortés gave him permission and assisted him with two thousand pesos de oro. As soon as Narvaez received this permission he humbled himself greatly before Cortés, and after first promising him that in all matters he would be his servant, he went off promptly to Cuba.

We will not talk any more about this, but state what was the end of Garay and his fleet, and it was this, that on going one Christmas night in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three, in company with Cortés to Matins, after returning from the church, they breakfasted with much merriment, and an hour later, Garay was caught in a sudden draught and not having been well before, was taken with pleurisy and high fever. Doctors were sent for to bleed and purge him and when they saw that the malady was increasing they told him that he had better confess and make his will, which he did at once and left Cortés as executor, and after receiving the holy Sacra-

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[1] The relationship between godfather and godmother.

ments, within four days of being taken ill he gave up his soul to our Lord Jesus Christ who created it. The land of Mexico has this peculiarity, that within three or four days they die of this malady of a pain in the side [pleurisy] as I have already stated before, as we had already learned by experience when we were at Texcoco and Coyoacan and so many of our soldiers died. So Garay was dead, may God pardon him. Amen. They paid high honour to him in his funeral and Cortés and other gentlemen put on mourning.

As there were some malicious persons who were on bad terms with Cortés, there were not wanting those who said that he had ordered arsenic to be given Garay in his breakfast and it was great wickedness on the part of those who thus slandered him, for he certainly died a natural death and the doctors Ojeda and the Licentiate Pedro López, who attended him, swore that it was so.

Garay died away from his own country, and in a strange house and far from his wife and children.

Let us cease talking about this and speak again of the province of Panuco. When Garay had come away to Mexico, as his captains and soldiers had no chief nor any one to command them, they wished to make captain one of the soldiers whom I will here name, whom Garay brought in his company, these were called Juan de Grijalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Ulloa, Juan de Medina the squint-eyed, Juan Dávila, Antonio de la Cerda, and one Taborda, this Taborda was the most turbulent of all those in Garay's camp, and over all of them there was appointed as Captain a son of Garay whom Cortés wished to marry to his daughter, but they did not respect him or pay any attention to him, neither those whom I have named nor any others of his company, on the contrary, they got together in parties of fifteen or twenty and went about robbing the pueblos and seizing by

force the women and the cloths and poultry as though they were in the land of the Moors robbing whatsoever they could find.

When the Indians of that province observed this, they agreed one and all to kill them, and within a few days they sacrificed and ate more than five hundred Spaniards all belonging to Garay's party. In one pueblo it happened that they sacrificed more than one hundred Spaniards together; in most of the pueblos they only killed, sacrificed and ate the stray Spaniards who were wandering about, for these could neither offer resistance nor would they obey the settlers of the town of Santistevan which Cortés had established. When they [the settlers] sallied out to make war on them [the Indians,] the multitude of warriors was so great that they could avail nothing against them, and things came to such a pass, and the Indians grew so daring, that many of them attacked the town and fought so boldly by day and by night, that it ran great risk of being taken, and had it not been for seven or eight Conquistadores, old followers of Cortés, and for the Captain Vallejo, who posted sentinels and went the rounds and encouraged the rest, [the Indians] would certainly have entered the town. Those Conquistadores told the rest of the soldiers of Garay that they must always endeavour to keep close to them in the field, and that there in the open they were much better off and that they should not return to the town, and so it was done, and they fought with them [the Indians] three times and although the Captain Vallejo was killed and many others were wounded they defeated the Indians and killed many of them. All the Indians, natives of that province, (I cannot now remember the name of it) were so furious that on one night they burned to ashes forty Spaniards and killed fifteen horses, and many of the men were followers of Cortés and all the rest followers of Garay.

When Cortés came to know about the havoc they wrought in this province he was so angry that he wished to go against them in person, but as he was very ill with a broken arm he could not go, and he promptly ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go with a hundred soldiers, fifty horsemen, two cannon and fifteen musketeers and crossbowmen and he gave him eight thousand Tlaxcalans and Mexicans and he ordered him, not to return until he left them well punished so that they could not revolt again.

Sandoval was very valiant, and when he was entrusted with matters of importance neither slept at night nor delayed long on the road, and he gave orders to the horsemen with the greatest forethought how they were to charge in and out among the enemy. As he had received news that all the companies of warriors of those provinces were awaiting him at two bad passes, he determined to send one half of his army to one bad pass, and he halted with the other half of his company on the other pass, and he gave orders to all the musketeers and crossbowmen that only some of them should fire while the others loaded, and that they should attack the enemy and see if they could put them to flight. The enemy shot off many javelins, arrows and stones and wounded eight soldiers and many of our allies. When Sandoval saw that he could not get through them, he stayed at that pass until it was night and sent to order the others who were at the other pass to do the same. The enemy never deserted their posts, and the following morning when Sandoval saw that he was not gaining any advantage by staying there as he had ordered, he sent to summon the other companies, whom he had sent to the other bad pass, and made them strike camp and return on the road to Mexico as though they were frightened. When the natives of those provinces who were close by thought that they were retreating through fear, they came out into

the road and followed after them yelling and shouting out insults, and although more Indians were coming out in his rear, still Sandoval never turned on them, and this was to put them off their guard so that as they had already stood waiting there three days, he could return and get through the bad passes that night with all his army. This he did returning at midnight and, catching them somewhat off their guard, he got through with his horsemen, but it was not so free from danger, for they killed three of his horses and wounded many soldiers. As soon as he found himself and his armies in good country and clear of the bad pass, he on one side and the rest of his company on the other, fell on the great squadrons which had collected together that night as soon as they knew that he had turned back, and they were so numerous that Sandoval had some misgiving lest they should break his ranks and rout him, and he ordered his soldiers to close upon him so that they might fight together, for he saw and understood that enemies of that sort would come like rabid tigers and throw themselves on the points of their swords. They had already captured six lances from the horsemen who were not men accustomed to warfare, and Sandoval was so angry at this that he said it would have been better to bring fewer soldiers [but men] whom he knew, instead of those he had brought.

He there gave instructions to the horsemen who had lately arrived how they were to fight, that is with their lances held rather short, and not to stop to give thrusts, except at the faces, and to press on ahead until the enemy were put to flight, and he told them that it was a well-known thing that if they stopped to give thrusts that the first thing the wounded Indian did was to catch hold of the lance; that as soon as they saw the enemy turn tail that then they should follow them at an easy pace the lance still held short, and if they [the Indians] should catch hold of the lance, (for even then they will grab at them,)

they should put spurs to their horse, and wrest it quickly out of their hands, holding the lance tightly with the hand and firmly grasped under the arm so as to gain more strength to drag it from the power of the enemy, and if he would not leave go to drag him along by the strength of the horse.

Then when he had already given them orders how they were to fight and had seen all his soldiers and horsemen closed up together, he camped that night on the banks of a river, and there he stationed good sentinels, and watchmen and patrols and ordered the horses to be kept saddled and bitted throughout the night, and the musketeers crossbowmen and soldiers all to be on the alert. He ordered the Tlaxcalans and Mexicans to encamp their companies a little way apart from us, for he already had experience in the affairs at Mexico that if the enemy were to come during the night to attack the camps our allies would be no hindrance to them. Sandoval was afraid they would come because he had observed companies of the enemy gathering together very near his camps, and made sure they must come and attack us that night, and he heard many yells and trumpets and drums very near by. It was understood that our allies had told Sandoval what the enemy were saying, that as soon as dawn came they intended to kill Sandoval and all his company. The patrols came twice to give notice that troops were being called together from many parts and were assembling, and as soon as there was daylight Sandoval commanded all his companies to set out in grand array. He once more reminded the horsemen of what he had often told them before, and they advanced through the field towards some huts where they heard the drums and trumpets, and they had hardly gone a quarter of a league before three squadrons of warriors came out to meet him and began to surround them. When he saw that he ordered half of the

horsemen to attack them on one side and the other half on the other, and although they killed two of the soldiers who had lately come from Castile, and three horses, still he broke them up in such a way that from that time on he kept on killing and wounding them and they did not get together as before. Then our allies the Mexicans and Tlaxcalans did much damage in all those pueblos, and captured many persons and set fire to all the pueblos they found before them until Sandoval was able to reach the town of Santistevan del Puerto and found the settlers in such a state and so weakened that they kept inside, some of them badly wounded and others ill, and what was worse they had no corn to eat neither they nor the twenty eight horses, and this was because they were attacked both by day and by night and they had no opportunity to bring in maize or anything else, and up to the very day that Sandoval arrived they [the Indians] had not desisted from attacking them, but they then abandoned the attack.

After all the settlers of that town had gone to see and speak to Captain Sandoval and to give him thanks and praise for having come to them in time to rescue them, they told him about Garay and that had it not been for seven or eight old Conquistadores, followers of Cortés, who helped them greatly, they would have run great risk of losing their lives, for those eight [soldiers] went out every day into the open, and made the other soldiers go out also and held out so that the enemy could not get into the town, for they acted as leaders and everything was done according to their advice, and they ordered the sick and wounded to stay inside the town and all the rest to wait in the open, and in that way they held out against the enemy.

Sandoval embraced them all and ordered these same Conquistadores, whom he knew well and who were his friends, especially one Navarrete y Carracosa and one de

Alamilla and five others, all followers of Cortés, to divide among them the horsemen, musketeers, and cross-bowmen which [he] Sandoval had brought with him, and go in two directions and bring in maize and supplies and make war and capture all the people they were able, especially the Caciques. Sandoval gave these orders because he could not go himself as he was badly wounded in the thigh, and had been struck by a stone in the face. Many other soldiers in his company were wounded, and so that they should get cured he stayed in the town for three days and did not go out to make war, for as he had sent out the captains already mentioned, and knew that they would do well, and saw that they quickly sent in maize and supplies, on this account he remained in camp for three days.

They also sent him many Indian women and common people who had been captured and five chieftains who had been captains in the wars, and Sandoval ordered them to free all the common people except the chieftains, and sent them word that from that time onwards only those should be taken who were concerned in the death of Spaniards, and no women nor boys, and that with kindly words they should send to summon them, and they did so.

Certain soldiers from among those who had come with Garay who were persons of importance whom Sandoval found in that town, and who were those through whose doings those provinces had risen in revolt, (I have already named most of them in the last chapter) when they observed that nothing whatever was apportioned to them by the followers of Cortés, began to murmur among themselves and they even persuaded other soldiers to speak evil of Sandoval and his actions, and even began to talk of raising an insurrection in the country, under the pretence that the son of Francisco de Garay was there with them as Adelantado. When Sandoval got to know about it, he spoke very clearly to them and said "Gentlemen, instead

of thinking well of me, because thanks to God, I came to your assistance, I have been told that you say things that gentlemen such as you are should not say, I am not depriving you of your position and honour by sending those whom I found here as leaders and captains, if I had found your honours here as commanders how base would I have been, if I had deprived you of your commands. I should like to know one thing. Why were you not commanders before the siege was raised? What you have one and all told me, is that if it had not been for those seven old soldiers that you would have suffered greater hardships, and as they knew the country better than your honours for that reason I appointed them. Therefore gentlemen in all our conquests in Mexico we do not consider these points and matters, but only how to serve His Majesty well and loyally; and thus I beg that from now onwards you will do the same. I shall not stay in this province many days, unless they kill me here, as I am going to Mexico. The man who will be left here as lieutenant of Cortés will give you plenty of employment, as for me, grant me your pardon."

With this he finished with them, yet they did not give up their ill will towards him. After this had taken place Sandoval promptly set out the following day with those whom he had brought in his company from Mexico, and with the seven whom he had sent out, and he had such a method that he captured as many as twenty Caciques all of them concerned in the death of over six hundred Spaniards who had been killed, partly followers of Garay, and partly followers of Cortés who had remained as settlers in the town. He also sent to summon all the other towns to make peace, and many of them came, and with the others he forgave it although they did not come. When this was done he wrote post haste to Cortés giving him an account of all that had happened, and [asking] what his

orders were with regard to the prisoners, and as Vallejo (whom Cortés had appointed his lieutenant) was dead of an arrow wound, who should be put in his place? He also wrote to say that the soldiers, mentioned by me, had behaved like very brave men. When Cortés saw the letter he was delighted that the province was already at peace, and at the time the letter was given to Cortés there were in his company many gentlemen who were Conquistadores and others who had come from Spain, and Cortés said before them all "Oh! Gonzalo de Sandoval under what great obligation I am to you and of how many difficulties you relieve me." And all praised him highly, saying that he was a very perfect captain, and might be classed among the most famous.

Let us leave these praises and say that Cortés promptly wrote [to say] that, in order that with more justification he could legally punish those who were concerned in the death of so many Spaniards and robberies of goods and deaths of horses, he would send the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo to act as judge, and the punishment to which he would justly sentence them should be carried out, and he ordered him as far as he was able to appease the natives of that province, and not allow the followers of Garay nor any other persons whatever to rob or illtreat them.

When Sandoval saw the letter and that Diego de Ocampo was coming he was rejoiced at it, and within two days of the arrival of the chief Alcalde Ocampo, after Sandoval had given him an account of what he had done and what had happened, they commenced a suit against the captains and Caciques who were concerned in the deaths of the Spaniards, and on account of their confessions they pronounced sentence against them and some of them they hanged and burned, and others they pardoned and they gave the office of Cacique to their sons and brothers to whom it would descend by right.

When this had been done, it appears that Diego de Ocampo brought instructions and orders from Cortés for an enquiry as to who those were who invaded and robbed the country and busied themselves in factions and quarrels enticing other soldiers to mutiny, and he ordered that they should be made to embark in a ship and sent to the Island of Cuba, and he even sent two thousand pesos for Juan de Grijalva if he should wish to return to Cuba [and said] that if he wished to remain he would help him and give him full permission to come to Mexico and the end of many arguments was that all willingly wished to return to the Island of Cuba where they owned Indians, so he ordered them to be given plentiful supplies of maize and poultry and all the things that the country produced and they returned to their homes in the Island of Cuba.

As soon as this was done Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo returned to Mexico where they were well received by Cortés and all the City, and from that time onwards that province never revolted again. Let us cease to speak further about it and relate what happened to the Licentiate Zuazo in the voyage when he came from Cuba to New Spain.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

How the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo came in a Caravel to New Spain and ran on some Islands called Las Víboras (the Vipers) and what else happened to him.

As I have already related in the last chapter, which speaks about the visit of the Licentiate Zuazo to Francisco de Garay at the Port of Xagua which is in the Island of Cuba, near to La Trinidad, and how Garay pressed him to come along in his fleet so as to act as mediator between him and Cortés, because he was well aware that disputes over the Government of Panuco were sure to arise, and Zuazo

promised to do so after he had rendered an account of the Residencia, for the responsibility rested with him of seeing justice done in that Island of Cuba where he was at present living. As soon as he [Zuazo] was through with his work he hastened to hand in his reports and to set sail and get to New Spain whither he had promised to go. He embarked in a small ship and whilst proceeding on his voyage, after passing the Point called San Anton, which is also called the land of the Guanataveys, who are savage Indians and do not serve Spaniards, sailing in his ship which was of small burden, either because his pilot mistook the course or because the course was varied by currents, he struck on some islands which are among the shoals known as Las Víboras. Not far distant from these shoals are others called Los Alacranes, and among these Islands large ships have often been lost, and what saved the life of Zuazo was that his ship was of small burden.

To return to our story; so as to get the ship to an Island which they saw near-by, which was not flooded by the sea, they threw overboard much salt pork and other things which they had brought as ship's stores so as to lighten the ship and be able to reach the island without touching ground. Then a great number of sharks fell on the pork, and were so greedy that they seized one of the sailors who had jumped into the water, which was up to their waists, and tore him to pieces and swallowed him, and if the rest of the sailors had not quickly returned to the Caravel all would have perished, as the sharks were inflamed with the blood of the sailor they had killed. Using their best efforts they reached the Island with the Caravel, and as they had already thrown into the sea the supplies and cassava bread, they had nothing to eat, nor any water to drink, nor fire, nor anything else with which to sustain themselves, save only some sun-dried beef which they had failed to throw into

the sea. By good luck they had brought in the Caravel two Cuban Indians who knew how to make fire with some small dry sticks which they found on the Island to which they were carried, and with these they made fire, and they dug in a sand beach and got out some brackish water. As the Island was small and had sand beaches, many turtles as broad and round and bigger than large shields, came to lay their eggs there, and as they came out [of the water] the Cuban Indians turned them over with their shells upwards, and each one of them was wont to lay over two hundred eggs about the size of ducks' eggs, so with these turtles and many eggs they had enough to sustain the thirteen persons who escaped to that Island. They also killed some seals which came out by night to the sand beach and were very good as food.

Finding themselves in this condition, as there happened to have come in the Caravel two ships carpenters and who had their tools with them, they determined to build a boat in which to sail, and with the boards, nails, tow, tackle and sails which they took from the ship that was wrecked they made a very good boat, like a jolly-boat, in which three sailors, one soldier and a Cuban Indian set out for New Spain. For supplies they carried turtle and the cooked [flesh of the] seals, and with some brackish water and a chart and ships compass, after commending themselves to God, they went on their voyage sometimes with fair weather and sometimes with foul, until they arrived at the port of Chalcocueca, which is the Rio de Banderas, where at that time the merchandize that came from Spain was discharged, and thence to Medellin where Simon de Cuenca was stationed as Lieutenant for Cortés. When the sailors who came in the boat told the Lieutenant the great danger in which the Licentiate Zuazo was placed, Simon de Cuenca promptly, without any delay, searched for sailors and a ship of small burden, and despatched

it with plentiful supplies to the Island where Zuazo was [stranded].

And Simon de Cuenca wrote to the Licentiate himself how delighted Cortés would be at his coming, and at the same time he let Cortés know all that had happened and how he had sent the ship well supplied. Cortés was pleased at the good provision that the Lieutenant had made and ordered that when he [Zuazo] arrived in port he should be given all that was needful, clothes and horses, and that he should be sent to Mexico.

Let me go back to say that the ship had a good voyage to the Island, at which Zuazo and his people were rejoiced, and they embarked in it and with good weather speedily arrived at Medellin, where much honour was paid him, and he went to Mexico, and Cortés gave orders that they should go out to receive him and carried him off to his palaces, rejoiced with him, and made him his chief Alcalde. So ended the voyage of the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo and let us cease talking about it. I declare that this account that I have given is taken from a letter that Cortés wrote us to the town of Coatzacoalcos to the municipality, in which what I have here said was stated, and within two months this very boat in which the sailors had come to give the news about Zuazo, arrived at the port of that town, and it was there used as a lighter for discharging cargo, and the same sailors told us the story in the way it is here written down. Let us leave this and I will relate how Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to pacify the provinces of Guatemala.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

How Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to the province of Guatemala to found a city and bring the people to peace, and what was done about it.

CORTÉS always had lofty thoughts and in his ambition to command and rule wished in everything to copy Alexander of Macedon, and as he always had excellent Captains and accomplished soldiers about him, after he had established the great cities of Mexico, Oaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, la Vera Cruz, Panuco and Coatzacoalcos, as he had received news that in the Province of Guatemala there were strong towns with large populations, and that there were mines there, he determined to send Pedro de Alvarado to conquer and settle it; for although Cortés himself had already sent to that province to beg the people to come in peaceably, they would not come. So he gave to Alvarado for that expedition over three hundred soldiers and among them one hundred and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen. Moreover, he gave him one hundred and thirty five horsemen and four cannon and much powder, and a gunner named something de Usagre and over two hundred Tlaxcalans and Cholulans, who went as auxiliaries. Then he gave him [Alvarado] his instructions, charging him to endeavour with the greatest care to bring the people to peace without making war on them, and to preach matters concerning our holy faith by means of certain interpreters and ecclesiastics whom he took with him, and not to permit sacrifices nor sodomy nor the robbing of one another; and that when he met with prisons and cages in which it was the custom to keep Indians confined in order to fatten them up for food, he should break them down, and liberate the captives from the prisons, and with kindness and good-will he should

bring the people to render obedience to His Majesty, and in all respects should treat them well.

Then after Pedro de Alvarado had said good-bye to Cortés and all the gentlemen who were his friends in Mexico, they took leave of one another and he set out from that city on the thirteenth day of the month of November in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three.

Cortés ordered him to go by certain rocky hills in the province of Tehuantepec, which were near his road, where the people were in revolt. He brought [the inhabitants of] these rocky hills to peace. The hill was known as the Peñol de Guelamo because it was then in the encomienda of a soldier named Guelamo.

From thence he went to Tehuantepec, a large pueblo of the Zapotecs, where they received him very well for they were at peace, and they had already gone from that town (as I have stated in a former chapter which tells about it) to Mexico and given their fealty to His Majesty and had seen Cortés and moreover had taken him a good present of gold.

From Tehuantepec he [Alvarado] went to the province of Soconusco, which at that time was thickly peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants[1]; they also received him peaceably and gave him a present of gold and surrendered themselves as vassals to His Majesty. From Soconusco he arrived near to another group of villages named Zapotitlan,[2] and on the road at a bridge over a river where there was a bad pass, he came across many squadrons of warriors who were waiting for him to prevent his passage, and he fought a battle with them in which they killed a horse and wounded many soldiers and two of them

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[1] The word is *vecinos*, which here applied to natives probably means households, not individuals.

[2] Capotitan in the text. (Zapote in the District of Soconusco, State of Chiapas?)

died of their wounds. So numerous were the Indians who had joined together against Alvarado, not only from Zapotitlan but from other towns in the neighbourhood, that in spite of the number that they [the Spaniards] wounded they were not able to drive them off. Three times they attacked Alvarado and it pleased Our Lord that he conquered them and they made peace.

From Zapotitlan the road led to a strong pueblo named Quetzaltenango, and before reaching it he had other encounters with the natives of that pueblo and with others from a neighbouring pueblo called Utatlan[1] which was the capital of certain pueblos which in their turn are in the neighbourhood of Quetzaltenango, and they wounded some soldiers and killed three horses, although Pedro de Alvarado and his people killed and wounded many of the Indians. Then there was a bad ascent for more than a league and a half through a defile. With the musketeers and crossbowmen and all his soldiers in good order he began the ascent, and at the top of the pass he found a fat Indian woman who was a witch, and a dog (one of those they breed because they are good to eat and do not know how to bark) sacrificed. Further on he came upon a vast number of warriors who were laying in wait for him, and they began to surround him; as the track was bad and among mountains the horsemen were not able to gallop or turn swiftly nor to make use of their mounts, but the musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers with sword and shield fought stoutly with them hand to hand, and they went on fighting from the hill and pass downwards until they reached some barrancas where they had another but not very severe skirmish with other squadrons of warriors which were waiting for them in those barrancas. This was owing to a stratagem which

[1] Utlatan in the text.

they had arranged among themselves in this manner: that as Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting, they should pretend to retreat, and as he would go on pursuing them to where over six thousand warriors, men from Utatlan and other pueblos subject to them were laying in wait there they intended to kill them (the Spaniards). Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers fought with them with the highest courage, and the Indians wounded twenty-six or twenty seven soldiers and two horses; nevertheless he [Alvarado] put them to flight, but they had not gone far before they rallied with other squadrons and turned to fight again, thinking to defeat Pedro de Alvarado. It was near a spring that they awaited them so as again to come hand to hand, and many of the Indians would lay in wait by twos and threes near to a horse and try by force to pull it down, and others caught them by the tail. And here Pedro de Alvarado found himself in great straits, for the enemy were so numerous they were not able to bear up against the squadrons who attacked them from so many directions. Then he and all his men, as soon as they saw that they had either to conquer or die, fearing that they might not defeat the enemy, on account of the cramped position in which they found themselves, made a bold attack with the muskets and crossbows and with sturdy sword cuts, and obliged them to draw back somewhat. Then the horsemen were not slow in spearing the enemy and trampling them down and passing through them until they had them routed, so that they did not assemble again for three days. When he [Alvarado] saw that there was no longer any enemy with whom to fight, he remained in the open country foraging and seeking for food, without going to any settlement for two days. Then he went with all his army to the pueblo of Quetzaltenango, and there he learnt that in the past battles they had killed two Captains who were Lords of Utatlan. While he was resting and

tending the wounded he received the news that all the forces of those neighbouring pueblos were again marching against him ; that a great number had assembled together,[1] and they were coming with the determination to die to the last man or to conquer.

When Pedro de Alvarado knew this he sallied out with his army to a plain, and as the enemy came on with such determination and began to surround the army and to shoot javelins, arrows and stones and [to attack] with lances, and as the ground was level, and the horses were able to gallop in all directions, he charged on the squadrons of the enemy in a way that soon made them turn their backs. Here many soldiers were wounded as well as a horse, and it seems that some Indian Chieftains from that pueblo itself were killed as well as from all that country, so that after the victory those pueblos had a great fear of Alvarado, and the whole of the district agreed to send to him and beg for peace, and they sent him a present of gold of little value to induce him to make peace.

It was fully agreed between all the Caciques of all the pueblos in the province that they should again collect a far greater number of warriors than before, and they ordered their warriors to assemble secretly among the barrancas of that town of Utatlan.

If they sent to ask for peace it was because Pedro de Alvarado and his army were in Quetzaltenango making expeditions and raids and continually bringing in Indian men and women as prisoners, and so as to induce him to go to another pueblo named Utatlan which was stronger and surrounded by barrancas, in order that when they had him inside, in a place where they thought they could get

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[1] Blotted out in the original, "more than two Xiquipiles, that is sixteen thousand Indians, for each Xiquipil numbers eight thousand warriors.

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Plan of the Ruins of Utatlan

Surveyed by A. P. Maudslay, Jan. 1887

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the better of him and his soldiers, they might attack them with their warriors who were already prepared and hidden away for that purpose.

Let us go back to say that when the numerous chieftains came before Pedro de Alvarado with the present, after making obeisance according to their custom, they asked his pardon for the past wars and offered themselves as vassals of His Majesty, and said that as their pueblo was large and in a pleasanter position and was nearer to other townships where they could attend to him better, they begged him to go there with them.

Pedro de Alvarado received it [the present] with great [show of] affection, and did not understand the cunning they were employing, and after alluding again to the evil they had done in making war, he accepted their overture of peace. The next day early he accompanied them with his army to Utatlan[1] for so the pueblo was called.

When he had made his entry, he saw what a stronghold it was, for it had two gateways, and one of them had twenty-five steps before entering the town, and the other entrance was by a causeway that was very bad and broken in two places, and the houses were close together and the streets narrow, and there were neither women nor children in any part of the town, which was surrounded by barrancas, and no food had been provided except what was bad and [that came] late and the chieftains were very shifty in their speeches. [Moreover] some Indians from Quetzaltenango warned Pedro de Alvarado that that very night it was intended to burn them all in the town if they remained there and that many squadrons of warriors had been stationed in the barrancas so that as soon as they saw the houses were burning they should join the people of Utatlan and attack them [the Spaniards] some from

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[1] Vtlatan, in the text.

one side and some from the other and that with the fire and the smoke they would be helpless and would be burned alive.

When Pedro de Alvarado understood the grave danger in which they stood, he quickly ordered his Captains and all his army without delay to get out into the open, and he told them the danger they were in, and when they understood it there was no delay in getting out on to the level part close to some barrancas, for just then they had not time to get [right] out into the open plain from the midst of such dangerous passes.

Throughout this Pedro de Alvarado displayed good will towards the Caciques and chieftains of that town and of the other towns in the neighbourhood and told them that as the horses were accustomed to go about grazing in the fields for a part of the day, that was the cause of his having come out of the town, as the houses and streets were so crowded. The Caciques were very sorrowful at seeing them depart in this way, and Pedro de Alvarado could no longer tolerate the treason which they had planned in concert with the squadrons that they had assembled, so he ordered the Cacique of the town to be seized and as justly ordered him to be burned, and he gave the lordship to his son. Then he promptly got out on to the level land away from the barrancas and fought the squadrons which had been got ready for the purpose I have mentioned, and after having thus provoked his strength and ill will, they were defeated.

Let us cease talking about this and say how at that time news had reached a large pueblo called Guatemala[1] of the battles that Pedro de Alvarado had fought since he entered the Province, in all of which he had been victorious, and

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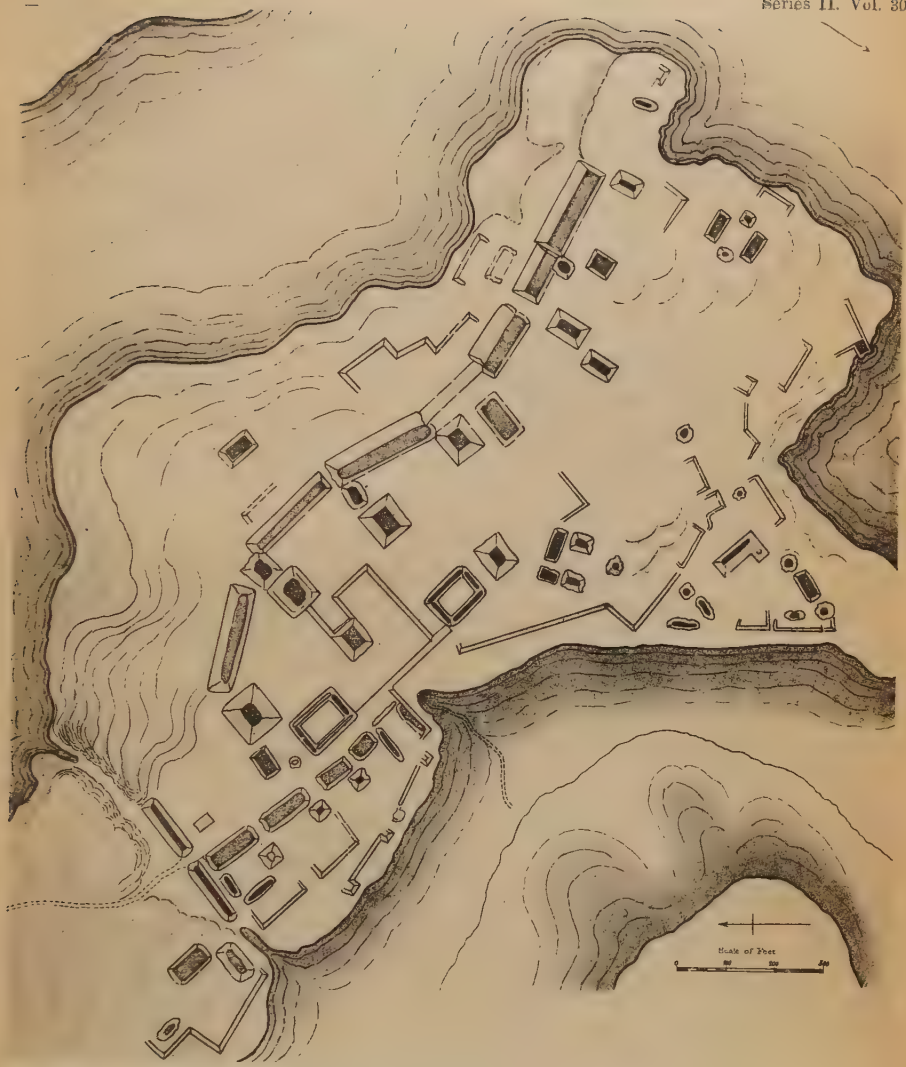
[1] Guatimala in the text. This is Tecpan-Guatemala, or Iximché, about 23 miles N.E. of the Lake of Atitlan.



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Plan of the Ruins of Iximché (Guatemala)

Surveyed by A. P. Maudslay, 1887

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that at present he was in the land of Utatlan whence he was making expeditions and attacking many pueblos. As the people of Utatlan and their dependent pueblos were enemies of the people of Guatemala,[1] the latter determined to send messengers with a present of gold to Pedro de Alvarado and offer themselves as Vassals to His Majesty and they sent word that if he had any need of their personal services for that war they would come.

Pedro de Alvarado received them with good will and gave them many thanks for their offer, and in order to see if what they had told him was true, and because he knew nothing of the country, he sent to ask for two thousand warriors to show him the way, and he did so on account of the many barrancas and bad passes that had been intentionally made in order to impede their passage, so that if it were necessary they [the native warriors] should put them in order, and they could carry the baggage. The people of Guatemala sent them (the warriors) to him with their captains.

Pedro de Alvarado remained in the province of Utatlan seven or eight days, making raids against the rebel pueblos which had given their fealty to His Majesty and after giving it had risen in revolt. They branded many slaves and Indian women, and after the royal fifth was paid the rest were divided among the soldiers. Then he went to the City of Guatemala and was received and entertained by the Caciques of that city, who told him that near by there were some pueblos on the borders of a lake who were their enemies and made war on them and they held possession of a very strong rocky hill, and that the people of that pueblo although they knew well that they [the Spaniards] were not far off, and that Pedro de Alvarado

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[1] Utatlan was the Capital of the Quichés, Guatemala the Capital of the Cachiquels.

was with them, did not come to tender their fealty as the other pueblos had done, and they were bad people and of worse habits. The said pueblo was called Atitlan[1] and Pedro de Alvarado sent to summon them to come and make peace, and told them that he would treat them well and sent them other smooth messages.

The reply they made was to ill-treat his messengers. Seeing that this availed nothing, he sent other messengers to induce them to make peace, and because he sent three times to ask for peace, and each time they used abusive words [to his messengers], Pedro de Alvarado went in person to them, and he took with him over one hundred and forty soldiers and among them twenty musketeers and crossbowmen and forty horsemen and two thousand Guatemalans. When he arrived near the pueblo he again requested them to make peace, and they only replied to him with bows and arrows and began to shoot.

When he saw this and that not far off there was a rocky hill in the water crowded with warriors, he went to the margin of the lake and two fine squadrons of Indian warriors came out to meet him with great lances and good bows and arrows and many other arms and corselets, sounding their drums, and with ensigns and plumes, and he fought with them for a good while and many of the soldiers were wounded, but the enemy did not remain long on the field but went fleeing for protection to the rocky hill, with Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers after them.

They soon gained possession of the Peñol and many [of the enemy] were killed and wounded, and there would have been more if they had not all thrown themselves into the water and crossed to an island.

Then they [the Spaniards] looted the houses which were near the lake and went to a plain where there were many

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[1] Atitan in the text.

THE LAKE OF ATITLAN.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

SMOKE and CLOUD.

maize fields and they slept there that night. The next day early in the morning they went to the pueblo of Atitlan, for so I have already said it was called, and found it deserted. Then he ordered his men to scour the country and the orchards of Cacao trees[1] of which there were many, and they brought in two chieftains of that pueblo as prisoners.

Pedro de Alvarado promptly sent these two chieftains, together with those who had been captured the day before, to beg the other Caciques to make peace, saying that he would give up all the prisoners to them and would receive them and pay them honour, but if they did not come he would wage war on them as he had on the people of Quetzaltenango and Utatlan and would cut down the trees in their Cacao plantations and do all the damage he could.

At the end of more arguments with these promises and threats they soon came to make peace and brought a present of gold and offered themselves as vassals to His Majesty.

Then Pedro de Alvarado and his army returned to Guatemala and were there some days without doing anything worthy of record, but all the pueblos of the neighbourhood made peace as well as others on the south coast named the Pipiles. Many of these pueblos which came to make peace complained that on the road by which they came there was a town called Escuintepeque[2] where there were bad people who would not allow them to pass through their country, but came to rob their pueblos and

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[1] Alvarado, in his letter to Cortés describing this expedition, says nothing about cacao plantations, certainly there are no cacao plantations at the level of the lake, 5000 ft. above the sea. The Spaniards must have gone over the pass and down the Pacific slope to find them.

[2] Escuintla or Mataquescuintla?

they made many other complaints against them, and they were not true, for persons whose words are worthy of credit say that they [the complaints] were made up, and he [Alvarado] went there to rob them of very beautiful Indian women and did not summon them to make peace.

Pedro de Alvarado determined to go to them with his entire force of horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen and many allies from Guatemala, and he fell upon them one morning by surprise and did them great damage and made many captures, and it would have been better had he not done so, for, as in justice must be admitted it was an ill deed and not in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

Now we have told the story of the Conquest and pacification of Guatemala and its provinces, and it is told more completely in a history which has been compiled of it by a settler in Guatemala a relation of the Alvarados, named Gonzalo de Alvarado, where it can be seen more fully, in case I have here made any mistakes.

I say this because I was not present at these conquests [and did not enter this country] until the time that we passed through these provinces when they were all at war in the year 1524, and that was when we came from Higueras and Honduras with Captain Luis Marin, and we found ourselves there at the time that we were returning to Mexico, and moreover I state that we had at that time some warlike encounters with the natives of Guatemala and they had made many pits and impediments in bad passes among the mountains so that we should not pass on account of the great barrancas, and even between a town named Cuajiniquilapa[1] and Petapa in some deep ravines we were detained fighting with the natives of that land for two days for we could not cross a bad pass, and

[1] Juanagaçapa in the text.

then they wounded me with an arrow shot, but it was a small matter, and we got through with great difficulty although many warriors from Guatemala and other towns, were stationed in the pass.

As there is much to tell about this and I am obliged to recall to mind some things which should come in their proper time and place, (and all this happened at the time when there was a report that Cortés and all of us who had gone with him to Higueras were dead) I will leave it now and tell about the expedition that Cortés sent to Higueras and Honduras; I will also state that in this province of Guatemala the Indians were not fighters for they only lay in wait for us in the barrancas, and with their arrows they did nothing.

CHAPTER CLXV.

How Cortés sent a fleet to pacify and conquer the provinces of Higueras and Honduras, and sent Cristóbal de Olid as Captain, and what happened I will go on to relate.

NOW Cortés heard news that there were rich lands and good mines in the country of Higueras and Honduras, and some pilots who had been in those parts, or very near to them, gave him to understand that they had met with some Indians fishing in the sea, whose nets they had seized, and the sinkers attached to them for the fishing were made of a mixture of gold and copper, and they also told him that in those parts they believed that there was a strait by which one could pass from the north to the south coast. Moreover, as we understood that His Majesty had instructed and ordered Cortés during all his discoveries to be on the look-out, and use the greatest diligence and perseverance in searching for a strait, pass or passage to the Spice Islands, so at this time, whether it was on account of the

gold, or to search for the passage, Cortés decided to send Cristóbal de Olid, who had been Quartermaster during the affair of Mexico, as Captain of the expedition—on the one hand because he was a man of his own making, and was married to a Portuguese lady named Doña Felipa de Arauz, already mentioned by me on other occasions,—on the other hand because Cristóbal de Olid held a good assignment of Indians near to Mexico, and Cortés thought he would be faithful and do what he was told to do.

Because such a long journey by land involved great difficulty, hardship and expense, he decided to send him by sea as it would not be so troublesome and costly, and he gave him five ships and a sloop well supplied with guns and powder and provisions and sent in them one hundred crossbowmen and musketeers and twenty-two horses, and among the soldiers were five Conquistadores of our company who came with Cortés himself in the beginning, and had served His Majesty well throughout the conquest, and they already possessed homes and were taking their rest. I thus express it because it was no use saying to Cortés, "Señor, let me take a rest, for I have done work enough," for he made them go, whither he ordered, by force if they would not go willingly.

He (Cristóbal de Olid) took with him one Briones, a native of Salamanca who had been a Captain of a launch and a soldier in Italy, and this Briones was very turbulent and an enemy of Cortés, and he took many other soldiers who were not on good terms with Cortés because he had not given them good assignments of Indians nor shares of the gold. In the instructions which Cortés gave him (C. de Olid) it was stated that from the port of Villa Rica his course would be to the Havana, and that there in the Havana he would find one Alonzo de Contreras an old soldier of Cortés, a native of the town of Orgaz, who had taken with him six thousand pesos de oro, with which to

buy horses and cassava, hogs, bacon and other things necessary for the fleet. Cortés sent this soldier on ahead of Cristóbal de Olid, because if the settlers at the Havana saw the fleet approaching they would raise the price of horses and all the other provisions. He ordered Cristóbal de Olid, on arriving at the Havana to take over all the horses which had been bought, and from thence to shape his course for Higueras, which was an easy passage and quite near by, and he ordered him, as soon as he had disembarked, in a friendly way, and without killing any Indians, to endeavour to found a town at some good harbour and to bring the natives of the province to peace, and to seek for gold and silver, and to make enquiries and endeavour to find out if there was a Strait, and what harbours there were on the South Coast, if he should reach it. He gave him two Clerics, and one of them understood the Mexican language, and he ordered him to preach diligently to the natives on the subject of our holy faith, and not to permit sodomy nor human sacrifices but quietly and in a friendly way to root them out. He also ordered him to break open all the wooden houses where they kept Indian men and women imprisoned, fattening them to be sacrificed and eaten, and to free the unhappy prisoners. He also ordered him to set up crosses all over the country, and he gave him many images of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria so that he could place them in the towns, and he said these words to him:

"Brother Cristóbal de Olid, in the manner which you have seen that we have acted in this New Spain, endeavour to act yourself."

And after embraces and farewells with much affection and good will Cristóbal de Olid took leave of Cortés and all his household and went to Villa Rica where his fleet was stationed fully equipped, and on a certain day of the month and year he embarked with all his soldiers and with

good weather arrived at the Havana. There he found the horses that had been bought and all the rest of the supplies, and five soldiers, who were persons of quality, of the company that had been turned out of Panuco by the orders of Diego de Ocampo because they were such robbers and so turbulent. I have already given the names of some of those soldiers in a former Chapter dealing with the pacification of Panuco, and for that reason I will not name them now. These soldiers advised Cristóbal de Olid, as there was reported to be rich country where he was going, and as he had such a large and well equipped fleet and many horses and soldiers, to revolt at once against Cortés and not to acknowledge him any longer as his superior, or to support him in anything. Moreover, Briones, often mentioned by me before, who accompanied him in the flagship had often said the same thing to him in secret, and as soon as this plot was agreed upon he [Briones] promptly wrote on the subject to the Governor of the Island who as I have already said many times was named Diego Velásquez, the mortal enemy of Cortés.

Diego Velásquez came to where the fleet was stationed, and what was arranged was that he and Cristóbal de Olid should between them take the land of Higueras and Honduras for His Majesty, in his royal name, and that Diego Velásquez would provide what was necessary and would make it known to His Majesty in Castile so that the Government should be given to him [Velásquez]. In this way the partnership in the fleet was arranged.

I wish to state here the quality and demeanour of Cristóbal de Olid; had he been as wise and prudent as he was personally energetic and brave both on foot and on horseback he would have been a perfect man, but he was not fit to command but only to be commanded; he was about thirty-six years of age and a native from near Baeza or Linares and in appearance was tall, brawny, very

robust and broad across the shoulders, he had a good figure and was somewhat ruddy, and he had very good features and his lower lip was always wrinkled as though it were cleft. His speech was somewhat coarse and threatening, but he was a fluent talker and had the additional good trait of being generous.[1] In the beginning when he was in Mexico he was a faithful follower of Cortés, but his ambition to command and not be commanded, added to [the advice of] bad councillors, blinded him, moreover as he was brought up in the house of Diego Velásquez when a youth, and was interpreter in the Island of Cuba, he felt the obligation of the bread that he had eaten in his house, [although] he was more beholden to Cortés than he was to Diego Velásquez.

When this arrangement had been made with Diego Velásquez, many other settlers from the Island of Cuba joined Cristóbal de Olid, especially those who as I have stated, advised a revolt.

As there was nothing further to be done in that Island, for all the stores had been placed on board the ships, he ordered the whole fleet to hoist sail, and with favourable weather, went on to disembark in a sort of bay about fifteen leagues beyond Puerto Caballos. He arrived there on the 3rd May, and for this reason he named the town, which he promptly laid out, Triunfo de la Cruz, and he appointed as Alcaldes and Regidores those to whom (when he was in Mexico) Cortés had ordered him to give appointments and pay respect. He took possession of those lands for His Majesty and for Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name, and he issued other decrees which were necessary, and all this that he did was so that the friends of Cortés should not understand that he was in revolt, and so that if

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[1] Blotted out in the original, "he never had anything of his own, for he gave it all away." G. G.

possible he might make good friends of them when the matter came to their knowledge.

Moreover, he did not know if the land would turn out to be rich and productive of mines as they told him. He shot at two marks, the one was, as I have said, that if there were good mines and the country was thickly peopled, to revolt with it, and the other, if it did not turn out so well, to return to Mexico to his wife and assignments and to excuse himself to Cortés by telling him that the partnership which he made with Diego Velásquez was in order that he should supply him with provisions and soldiers and not to support him [Velásquez] in any way, and this he could easily [see], for he took possession through Cortés; and these were his thoughts according to what many of his friends, who have been consulted on the subject have stated.

Let us leave him already settled at Triunfo de la Cruz, Cortés knew nothing about it for more than eight months. And because I shall be obliged to return again and speak about him I will drop the matter at present and relate what happened to us at Coatzacoalcos and how Cortés sent me with Captain Luis Marin to pacify the province of Chiapas.

NOTE TO CHAPTER CLXVI.

THE topography of the States of Tabasco and Chiapas presents great difficulties. The modern maps are very imperfect, and many of the original Indian names have disappeared. The topography of the State of Tabasco will be more fully dealt with in the next Volume (which deals with Cortés's march to Honduras), in which I hope to include the map of the State drawn by Melchior de Santa Cruz in 1579. It will here suffice to say that in the sixteenth century the main stream of the great river of Chiapas, after passing Huimanguillo, appears to have flowed into the sea at the Barra de dos Bocas, by what is now marked on some maps as the Rio Seco, and what is

now the main stream between Huimanguillo and San Juan Bautista, called the Rio Mescapalapa, was then merely a connecting link between the Rio de Chiapas and the Rio Grijalva.

Between Latitude 17° 50′ N. and the sea, the rivers Chiapas, Grijalva and Usumacinta are all connected by a network of waterways.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

How those of us who had settled at Coatzacoalcos were constantly going about pacifying the provinces which revolted against us, and how Cortés ordered Captain Luis Marin to go and conquer and pacify the Province of Chiapas and ordered me to go with him and what happened during the pacification.

As many of us old Conquistadores and persons of quality were established in the town of Coatzacoalcos and had large tracts [of land] allotted to us consisting of this same province of Coatzacoalcos and Cintla,[1] Tabasco, Cimatan,[2] Chontalpa[3] and in the mountains above Quechula[4] and the [land of the] Zoques and Quilines towards Zinacantan[5] and Chamula[6] and the City of Chiapas of the Indians and Papanaguastla and Pinola[7] and on the other side, toward the borders of Mexico, the province of Xaltepec[8] and Huaspaltepec,[9] Chinantla, Tepeca and many other pueblos, and as at the beginning most of the provinces of New Spain rose in revolt when we demanded tribute from

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[1] Çitla in the text, Cintla near Tabasco, see vol. i, p. 108.

[2] Çimatan in the text is not marked on the modern maps. In the map of Melchoir de Santa Cruz the cattle ranch of Don Francisco Cimatan is marked on the Rio Mescapalapa and the three pueblos of Oscimatanes on the Rio Acathapa (Acachapa).

[3] Chontalpa, now Cardenas, a province of Western Tabasco.

[4] Cachula in the text, 40 miles N.W. of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

[5] Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

[6] Chamula, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

[7] Pinola, between San Cristóbal and Comitan.

[8] Xaltepec, or Jaltepec, District of Choapam.

[9] Guaspaltepec in the text, near Playa Vicente, Dist. of Choapam

them, and even murdered their Encomenderos and killed[1] those Spaniards whom they could capture with safety, it came to pass that there was hardly a province left belonging to this town that was not in rebellion, and for this reason we were always going about from pueblo to pueblo with a company, bringing them to peace. As the people of Cimatan would neither come to the town nor obey the commands that were sent to them, Captain Luis Marin decided, (so as to avoid sending a company of many soldiers against them,) that four of the settlers should go and pacify them. I was one of them and the others were named Rodrigo de Nao a native of Ávila, and Francisco Martin a Semi-Biscayan, and the other was called Francisco Ximénes a native of Ynguejuela[2] in Estramadura. What our Captain ordered us to do was to summon them firmly and with kindly affection to be peaceable, and not to use language that might offend them. So we went on our way to their province where the pueblos stand amidst great swamps and rapid rivers, and when we arrived within two miles of their pueblo we sent messengers to say we were coming, and the answer they gave was that three squadrons of archers and lancemen came out against us, and in the first skirmish they killed two of our companions with their arrows, and they gave me my first arrow wound in the throat, and with the great loss of blood, (I could neither bind up the wound nor check the flow of blood immediately), my life was in great danger. Then my other companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan, who was wounded, although he and I always kept our faces to the enemy and wounded some of them, decided to cut and run and take refuge in some canoes which were near the great river called the Maçapa.[3]

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[1] Acapillavan in the text. See note, vol. ii, p. 4.
[2] Herguijuela?
[3] Mezcalapa?

As I was left alone and badly wounded, dazed and stupified I thought of hiding among some high bushes so that they should not quite kill me, but coming to myself with a brave heart I said: "May our Lady avail me, if it is true that I must die here to-day in the hands of these dogs" and I was so emboldened that I sallied out of the thicket again and rushed upon the Indians and after some good cuts and thrusts they made way for me and I got out from among them and, although they wounded me again, I reached the canoes where I found my companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan already in one of them with four friendly Indians, who were those whom we had brought with us to carry our provisions, and those Indians, while we were fighting with the Cimatecs, had abandoned their burdens and taken refuge in the canoes on the river, and what saved my life and that of Francisco Martin was that the enemy stopped to plunder our clothes and boxes.

Let us cease talking any more about this and say that it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that we should escape death there, and in the canoes we crossed that river, which is very large and deep and has many alligators in it, and so that the Cimatecs, (for so they are called) should not follow us we remained for eight days in the forest.

When a few days later this news was known in Coatzacoalcos, and the Indians who brought the news (who were some of those we had taken with us) reported that we were dead as well as all four Indians who, as I have said, remained in the canoes, but the very Indians who carried this news had fled as soon as they saw that we were wounded and left us to do the fighting. Within a few days they arrived in the town, and as we did not appear, and there was no news of us they thought that we were dead. As is the custom with regard to Indians, and was usual at that time, the Captain Luis Marin had already allotted our Indians to other Conquistadores and had sent

off messengers to Cortés to send the warrants of allotment, and they had even sold our property. At the end of twenty days we arrived at the town, at which some of our friends rejoiced, but those to whom our Indians had been given were sorry . . . . . .

When Captain Luis Marin saw that we could not pacify those provinces I have named, but, on the contrary, they killed many of our Spaniards, he decided to go to Mexico to ask Cortés for more soldiers and assistance and military stores, and he ordered that while he was away none of the settlers should leave the town to go to pueblos far away but should only go to those within four or five leagues and then only to procure food. When he reached Mexico he reported to Cortés all that had happened and he (Cortés) ordered him to return to Coatzacoalcos and sent with him about thirty soldiers and among them Alonzo de Grado, whom I have often mentioned, and he gave orders for us to go with all the settlers in the town and the soldiers that he (Luis Marin) was bringing with him to the province of Chiapas which was hostile, to pacify it and establish a town.

When the Captain arrived with those despatches we all of us got ready, both those who were settled there as well as those he had just now brought, and we began to clear a road through some very bad forest and swamps, and we threw into them logs and branches so that the horses could pass, and after great difficulty we managed to come out at a pueblo named Tepuzuntlan,[1] for up to that time we were accustomed to go up the river in canoes, for there was no other road opened. From that pueblo we went to another pueblo up in the hills called Quechula,[2] and that it may be clearly understood, this Quechula is in the mountains in

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[1] On the Rio Mescalapa or Grijalva.

[2] Quechula, Cachula in the text, on the right bank of the R. Mescalapa, or Grijalva, dist. of Tuxtla.

the province of Chiapas, and I say this because there is another town of the same name near Puebla de los Angeles. From Quechula we went to some other small towns subject to this same Quechula and we went on opening new roads up the river which comes from the town of Chiapas for there was no road whatever.

All the people in this neighbourhood stood in great fear of the Chiapanecs[1] for certainly at that time they were the greatest warriors that I had seen in all New Spain, although that includes Tlascalans, Mexicans, Zapotecs and Mijes,[2] and this I say because the Mexicans had never been able to master them. At that time the province was thickly peopled and the natives of it were extremely warlike and waged war on their neighbours the people of Zinacantan[3] and all the pueblos of the Quilena language, also against those called the Zoques and continually robbed and took prisoners in other small pueblos where they were able to seize booty, and with those whom they killed they made sacrifices and glutted themselves.

In addition to this on the roads to Tehuantepec[4] they had many warriors stationed at bad passes to rob the Indian merchants who traded between one province and the other, and because of the fear of them trade between one province and another was sometimes stopped. They had even brought other pueblos by force and made them settle and remain near to Chiapas, and held them as slaves and made them cultivate their fields.

Let us return to our road, we proceeded up the river towards their city, and it was during Lent in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-three, but this matter of the year I do not remember well, and before reaching the town

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[1] Chiapanecs, the people of Chiapas (Chiapa in the text).

[2] Minxes in the text.

[3] Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal.

[4] Teguantepeque in the text.

of Chiapas a review was held of all the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and soldiers who went on that expedition, and it could not be done before this time, because some of the settlers of our town and others from outside had not joined, for they were busy in the pueblos of the allotments of Quechula demanding the tribute that these were obliged to pay, for now that they came under the protection of a Captain and soldiers they dared to go among those who before had neither paid tribute nor cared a snap of the fingers for us.

Let us go back to our story, there proved to be twenty-seven horsemen fit for fighting and another five who were not fit, fifteen crossbowmen and eight musketeers and one cannon and plenty of powder and a soldier for gunner and this same soldier said that he had been in Italy, and I say this here because he was no good at all and a great coward, and we mustered seventy soldiers with sword and shield, and about eighty Mexicans and the Cacique of Quechula with some of his chieftains, and these people of Quechula that I have mentioned went trembling with fear, and by flattering them we got them along so that they might help us to clear the roads and carry the baggage.

As we went along in good order, and were already near to their townships, four of the most active soldiers, of whom I was one, always went ahead as spies and scouts. I left my horse for others to bring along, for it was not [the sort of] country where horses could gallop. We always kept half a league ahead of the Army, and as the Chiapanecs are hunters, they were then out hunting the deer. As soon as they perceived us they were all called together by great smoke signals, and as we arrived at their townships we observed they had very broad roads and large plantations of maize and other vegetables, and the first pueblo we came upon which is called Ixtapa[1], which is

[1] Estapa in the text, about 15 miles N.E. of Chiapas.

about four leagues distant from the Capital, had just then been deserted, and there was much maize and other supplies there and we had plenty to eat for our supper. While we were resting at this spot, and had stationed our sentinels, spies and scouts, two horsemen who had been acting as scouts came in to report, shouting: Alarm! Alarm! they are coming, all the fields and roads are crowded with Chiapanec warriors! We who were always fully on the alert went out to meet them before they reached the pueblo and fought a great battle with them, for they had many fire hardened javelins and their throwing-sticks and bows and arrows, and lances much longer than ours, and good cotton armour and plumes, and others had clubs like *macanas* and where the battle took place stones were plentiful and they did us much damage with their slings, and they began to surround us so cleverly that with the first shower of arrows they killed two of our soldiers and four horses, and wounded over thirteen soldiers and many of our allies, and they gave Captain Luis Marin two wounds. We were fighting that battle from the afternoon until after nightfall, and as it grew dark and they had felt the edge of our swords, and the muskets, crossbows and lance thrusts, they retreated at which we rejoiced. We found fifteen of them dead and many others wounded and unable to get away, and with two of those whom we captured there, who appeared to us to be chieftains, we held conversation and obtained news, and they said that the whole country was prepared to attack us on the following day. That night we buried the dead and looked after the wounded and the Captain who was ill with his wounds, for he had lost much blood because he would not leave the fighting to attend to them or bind them up and they had become chilled.

As soon as this was done we stationed good sentinels, spies and scouts and we kept the horses saddled and

bridled and all of us soldiers were on the alert, for we felt sure that they would attack us during the night, and as we had seen their tenacity in the past battle, and that neither with crossbows, lances nor muskets and not even with swordplay could we make them retreat or give way a single step, we took them to be very stout fighters and high spirited in battle.

That night orders were given as to how we horsemen were to attack in parties of five each, with the lances held short, and that we were not to stop to give lance thrusts until they were put to flight, but to hold the lances high, aimed at their faces, and to trample them down and go on ahead. This method I have already said before, Luis Marin and even some of us old Conquistadores, had given as advice to the new comers from Castile, and some of them did not trouble to obey the command, thinking that in giving a lance thrust to the enemy they were doing some good, but it turned out badly for four of them, for the Indians seized their lances and with these they wounded them and the horses. I wish to say that six or seven of the enemy got together and threw their arms round the horses thinking to capture them by hand and they even dragged one soldier off of his horse, and if we had not come to his rescue they would have carried him off to be sacrificed,—he died within two days.

To return to our story, the next morning we decided to continue our march to the city of Chiapas for truly one can call it a city and it was thickly peopled and the houses and streets well arranged, and there were more than four thousand citizens, not counting many other subject pueblos around it. We went on our way in good order, with the cannon loaded and the gunner wide awake to what he had to do, and we had not marched four leagues when we met all the forces of Chiapas, plains and hills were crowded with them, they came on with their great plumes and good

armour, long lances, arrows and javelin throwing-sticks, slings and stones, and with loud shouts, yells and whistles, it was appalling to see how they attacked us hand to hand and began to fight like raging lions. Our negro gunner whom we had brought with us—and well one may call him black—restrained by fear and trembling, neither knew how to aim nor to fire the cannon, and when at last through the shouts we hurled at him he did fire it, he wounded three of our own soldiers and did no good whatever.

When the Captain saw how things were going, all of us horsemen charged, formed in groups as we had arranged, and the musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers with sword and shield forming in a body helped us very much, but the enemy who fell upon us were so numerous that it was fortunate that we who were present in those battles were men who were innured to even greater dangers by which others would have been scared, and even we were astonished ourselves, and when Captain Luis Marin said to us "Señores, Santiago and at them, let us repeat our charge once more," with brave spirit we struck them such a blow that they soon turned their backs. Where this battle was fought there was some rocky ground very bad for galloping horses, so we were not able to pursue them. As we went along after them not very far from where the fight began, and we were going rather carelessly thinking that they would not get together again that day, there were other squadrons of warriors, larger than the last, all fully armed, behind some hills, and many of them carried ropes with which to cast lassos over the horses and tie them so as to pull them over, and on all sides they had stretched many nets such as they use for catching deer, for the horses and for us. All the squadrons that I have mentioned were coming to clash with our army and being very strong and vigorous warriors they gave us such a drubbing with

arrows, javelins, and stones that they wounded nearly all of us, and they captured four lances from the horsemen and killed two soldiers and five horses. Then they brought in the middle of their squadrons a rather aged and very fat Indian woman, and they were said to look on that woman as a goddess and prophetess, and she had told them that as soon as she arrived where we were fighting we should at once be vanquished, and she brought some incense in a brazier and some stone Idols, and all her body was painted and cotton was stuck on to the painting, and without the slightest fear she went among our Indian allies who came on in a body with their captains, and the cursed goddess was promptly cut to pieces.

To go back to our battle, as soon as Luis Marin and all of us saw such a multitude of warriors coming against us and fighting so boldly, we commended ourselves to God and charged upon them in the same order as before, and little by little we broke them up and put them to flight. They hid themselves among some great rocks and most of them threw themselves into the river which was close by and was deep, and went off swimming, for they are especially good swimmers.

As soon as we had defeated them we gave thanks to God, and we found many of them dead where the battle had been fought, and others wounded, and we decided to go to a village on the river (near to the ford [leading] to the city),[1] where there were very good cherries, for as it was Lent it was the time when they were ripe, and in that village they were very good.

There we halted all the rest of the day, burying the dead in places where the natives of the village could not get at them or find them and we attended to the wounded and ten [wounded] horses and there we decided to sleep

[1] The site of the city appears to have been on the left bank of the river.

with every precaution of sentinels and spies. A little after midnight ten Indians crossed over from two villages which were situated near the capital City of Chiapas, and they came in five canoes across the river which is here large and deep and they came rowing in silence, and the rowers were ten Indians, persons of importance, natives of the villages which were near the Rio de los Pueblos, and they disembarked near our camp, and as they jumped on shore they were promptly captured by our sentinels, and they were content to be captured and taken before the Captain and said "Sir, we are not Chiapanecs but belong to other provinces called Xaltepeque, and these evil Chiapanecs in the great wars they have made on us have killed many people and the greater part of our townspeople with their women and children they brought here to settle, and they have taken all the property we possessed and have already held us as slaves for more than twelve years and we work their plantations and maize fields, and they make us go fishing and do other service and they take our daughters and wives from us, and we come to give you notice that to-night we will bring you many canoes in which you may cross the river, and we will also show you a ford although it is not very shallow, and what we beg Señor Captain, if we do this good deed, is that when you have conquered and routed these Chiapanecs you will give us leave to get out of their power and return to our own lands. To incline you the more to believe our statements to be true we are bringing you in the canoes, which have now crossed over and been hidden away in the river with some of our companions and brothers, presents of three jewels shaped like diadems, and we also bring poultry and cherries." Then they asked leave to fetch them and said that it had to be done very silently so that the Chiapanecs who were watching and guarding the passes of the river should not perceive them.

When the Captain understood what these Indians told him and the great assistance they would be in crossing that strong and rapid river, he gave thanks to God, and showed good will to the messengers, and promised to do what they asked him and even to give them clothes and the spoil we might gain in that city. He learned from them that in the two last battles we had killed and wounded more than one hundred and twenty Chiapanecs, and that they had many other warriors ready for the next day and they had made the villages where these messengers lived come out to fight against us, but that we should have no fear of them, on the contrary they would assist us, and that they [the Chiapanecs] would be waiting for us when we crossed the river although they thought it impossible that we should have the daring to cross it, and that when we were crossing it they would there defeat us.

When they [the Xaltepecs] had given this information, two of these Indians stayed with us and the rest went to their pueblo to give orders that very early in the morning twenty canoes should be brought, and they kept their word very well.

After they had departed we rested a little during what remained of the night, but not without caution and patrols, sentinels and spies for we heard the great murmur of the warriors who were assembling on the bank of the river and the sound of their trumpets, drums and horns.

As soon as it was dawn we saw the canoes which were being openly brought, in spite of the Chiapas forces, for it seems that they [the latter] had already found out that the natives of those small pueblos had risen in revolt and had gained courage, and were on our side, and some of them had been captured, and the rest had entrenched themselves in a great Cue, and for this reason there were skirmishes and fights between the Chiapanecs and the small pueblos I have mentioned. They promptly went to show us the

ford, and these allies made us hurry on so as to cross the river quickly for fear lest their companions who had been captured that night should be sacrificed. Then when we came to the ford which they showed us, it was running very deep, all of us formed up in good order, both crossbowmen, musketeers and horsemen, and the friendly Indians from the two small pueblos with their canoes, and although the water reached nearly to our chests we all huddled together so as to resist the force and impetus of the water, and it pleased Our Lord that we crossed nearly to the other side of the river, but before we finished crossing many warriors came against us and poured on us a rain of javelins from throwing sticks, and arrows and stones, and others came with great lances and wounded almost all of us some with two or three wounds, and they killed two horses, and one horse soldier named something Guerrero or Guerra was drowned while crossing the river by falling with his horse into a strong rapid, he was a native of Toledo, and his horse got to land without his master.

To return to our fight, for some time they were attacking us as we crossed the river and we could neither make them retreat nor were we able to reach the land, but just then the people of the small pueblos who had grown valiant against the Chiapanecs came to our aid and fell on the rear of those who were fighting with us in the river, and they killed and wounded many of them, for they were very hostile to them for having kept them captive so many years. As soon as we saw this the horsemen quickly got to land and next the crossbowmen, musketeers, the sword and shield men and the friendly Mexicans, and we gave them a good drubbing and they went fleeing to their pueblo, and no Indian waited for another. Then without further delay we formed up in good array with our banners unfurled, and with many Indians from the two small

pueblos in our company, we entered the city and when we reached the densest part of it where their great Cues and Oratories stood, the houses were so close together that we did not dare to make our camp there but [went out] into the open and a site where even if they did set fire to it, they could do us no damage.

Our Captain at once sent to summon the Cacique and Captains of that town to make peace, and three Indians from the small friendly pueblos went as messengers, one of them was called Xaltepec, and six Chiapanec Captains whom we had taken prisoners in the late battles were sent with them. And he [Luis Marin] sent to tell them to come promptly to make peace and he would pardon them for what was past, but if they did not come, we would go and look for them and make worse war on them than before, and would burn their city. Owing to those hectoring words they came at once and even brought a present of gold and excused themselves for having made war and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and prayed Luis Marin not to allow our allies to burn any houses, for before entering Chiapa they had already burned many houses in a small pueblo situated a short distance before reaching the river, and Luis Marin gave them his promise and he kept it, and ordered our Mexican allies and those we had brought from Quechula not to do any harm or damage. I wish to say that this Quechula that I mentioned here is not the one that is near Mexico but a pueblo of the same name in the mountains on the road to Chiapas over which we passed. Let us leave this and say that in that city we found three prisons of wooden gratings, full of prisoners fastened by collars round their necks, and these were those whom they had captured on the roads, some of them were from Tehuantepec and others Zapotecs and others Quilines and others from Soconusco; these prisoners we took out of the prisons,

and each one went to his own home, and we broke up the gratings.

We also found in the Cues very evil figures of the Idols they worshipped, and many Indians and boys sacrificed two days ago, and many evil things of the sodomy they practise.

The Captain ordered them at once to go and summon the neighbouring towns to come in peaceably and give their fealty to His Majesty.

The first to come were from a township named Zinacantan and Copanahuastla[1] and Pinola, Gueyguistlan[2] and Chamula[3] and other towns whose names I do not remember of the Quilines, and other pueblos of the Zoque tongue, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they were still astounded that, few as we were, we had been able to defeat the Chiapanecs, and they certainly showed great satisfaction for they were ill disposed towards them.

We stayed in that city for five days, and just then one of the soldiers whom we had brought in our army strayed from our camp and went without leave from the Captain, to a pueblo which had made peace, which I have already mentioned, named Chamula, and he took with him eight of our Mexican Indians and he ordered the people of Chamula to give him gold, and said that the Captain commanded it. The people of that pueblo gave him golden jewels and because they did not give him more he took the Cacique prisoner, and when the people of the pueblo saw him commit that excess they wished to kill this daring and inconsiderate soldier and they at once revolted, and not only they, but their neighbours the

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[1] Copanahuastla, not marked on the map.

[2] Gueyguistlan (modern Huistan near San Cristóbal?), spelt in the text Gueguistlan, Quiaguyztlan, Guequyztlan and Gueyguyztlan.

[3] Chamula, near San Cristóbal.

people of another pueblo, named Gueyguistlan were also inclined to revolt.

When Captain Luis Marin heard of this, he seized the soldier and ordered him to be taken post haste to Mexico for Cortés to punish him. Luis Marin did this because this soldier thought himself a man of importance and for his honour's sake I will not mention his name, until occasion arises at a time when he did a thing that was worse, and because he was wicked and cruel to the Indians; about a year later he died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians as I will tell later on.

When this was done the Captain sent to summon the pueblo of Chamula to come and make peace and sent to tell them that he had already punished and sent to Mexico the Spaniard who demanded gold and did them those injuries, and the reply they gave him was bad, and we thought it all the worse because of the neighbouring pueblos which had made peace, lest they should revolt. So it was decided to fall upon them at once and not to leave them until they were brought to peace. After this the Chiapanec Caciques were spoken to very gently and they were told through good interpreters things concerning our holy faith, and that they must abandon their Idols and sacrifices and sodomies and robberies, and crosses were set up and an image of Our Lady on an altar that we ordered them to make. They were made to understand that we were the Vassals of His Majesty and many other things that were fitting, and we still left more than half their city inhabited.

The two friendly pueblos that had brought us the canoes to cross the river and had helped us in the war were freed from their power, and with all their property and women and children went to settle lower down the river about ten leagues from Chiapas, where the town of Xaltepec is now established. The other small pueblo called

Ystatan[1] went to its own home for they belonged to Tehuantepec.

Let us return to our expedition to Chamula, we at once sent to summon the people of Zinacantan who were sensible people and many of them traders, and he [Luis Marin] told them to bring us two hundred Indians to carry our baggage and that we would go to their pueblo for it was on the road to Chamula. At the same time he demanded from the people of Chiapas another two hundred Indian warriors with their arms to go in his company, and they gave them at once and we set out from Chiapas one morning and went to sleep at some salt pits where they had made us very good ranchos, and the next day at mid-day we arrived at Zinacantan and there we kept the Holy feast of the Resurrection.[2] Then we again sent to summon the people of Chamula to make peace and they would not come, and we had to go to them and it was a matter of three leagues from where Zinacantan then stood, and the houses and town of Chamula were at that time situated in a fortification very difficult to capture with a very deep fosse on the side where we had to attack, and on other sides it was worse and stronger. Thus as we approached with our army they shot from above so many stones, javelins and arrows that they covered the ground. Then [they had] very long lances with more than two fathoms of flint cutting edge[3] which, as I have said before, cut better than our swords, and shields made like *pavesinas* which cover the whole body when fighting, and when they are not needed they roll and double them up so that they are no inconvenience to them. They had slings and plenty of stones and they shot arrows and stones so

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[1] Ishuatan (?), near the Laguna Inferior, in the district of Juchitan.

[2] 5th April, 1523.

[3] Dos braças de cuchilla de pedernales in the text.

fast that they wounded five of our soldiers and two horsemen and with so many shouts and loud yells, whistles, howls, and trumpets, drums and shell trumpets it was enough to frighten anyone who did not know them.

When Luis Marin saw this and understood that the horses could be of no use there as it was mountainous, he ordered them to turn and descend to the plain, for where we stood was a steep hill and fortification. He ordered them to do this because we feared that the warriors from other pueblos that were in revolt called Gueyguistlan would come to attack us there, so that the horsemen might oppose them.

Then we began to shoot many arrows and fire muskets at the people in the fort, but we could do them no harm whatever on account of the great barricades they had [erected] but on the contrary they constantly wounded many of our men. We stood fighting in this way all that day and they did not give way at all to us, and if we attempted to get through them to where they had constructed their barricades and battlements, there were over a thousand lancers at their posts for the defence of those whom we were endeavouring to get through. If we should have wished to risk our persons by making a dash into the fortress, we should have jumped from such a height that we must have been smashed to pieces, and it was not worth while to take the risk.

After it was carefully decided how and in what way we were to make the attack, it was settled that we should bring wood and boards from a small deserted pueblo that was near by, and should make *burros* or *Mantas*[1] for so they are called and in each one of them there should be room for twenty persons, and with iron adzes and picks

[1] Burros or Mantas, movable shelters for battering purposes.

which we had brought with us, and with other wooden adzes of the country that were there, we should excavate and destroy their fortress and break down a small gate to enable us to enter, for in any other way it was useless [to try] because on two other sides they had the same defence and we examined it all for more than a league around. In the neighbourhood there was another very difficult entrance, even harder to capture than where we were, because there was a descent so steep and bad that one could say it was like going into the bottomless pit.[1]

To go back to our barricades and mantas, while we were destroying their fortress with them they threw down from above quantities of burning pitch and rosin and blood and water all mixed together, very hot, and at other times fire and hot ashes and greatly impeded us, and then after that such a multitude of very large stones that they broke our engines and we had to retreat and mend them. We promptly returned to the attack, and as soon as and when they saw that we made larger breaches, four priests and other principal persons placed themselves on one of the battlements and came covered with their shields and other *talarbadones* of wood, and said: "If you wish for or desire gold come inside for here we have plenty," and they threw us from the ramparts seven diadems of fine gold and many moulded beads and other beads like shells and four ducks all of gold and after them many arrows, javelins and stones.

When we had already made two great breaches, and as it was night and it began to rain, at that moment we left the combat until the next day, and slept there that night with every precaution. The Captain ordered some of the horsemen who were on the level ground not to leave their posts and to keep their horses saddled and bridled.

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[1] Abismo in the text.

Let us go back to the Chamultecs who were all the night sounding drums and trumpets and shouting and yelling and saying that next day they were going to kill us for so their Idol had promised them. As soon as it was dawn we returned with our engines and Mantas to make larger breaches, and the enemy defended their fortress with great spirit and even wounded five of our men that day, moreover they gave me a good thrust with a lance which pierced my armour and if it were not for the good quilting of thick cotton that it had, they would have killed me. Good as it was, it was pierced and a good wad of cotton pushed out and I received a small wound.

By that time it was past mid-day and a great shower fell and then a very dense mist, for as the mountains are high there are always mists and showers, and as it was raining our Captain withdrew from the fight, and as I was experienced in the late wars in Mexico I fully realised that while the mist was gathering the enemy were not yelling and shouting as much as before, and I noticed many lances close by the battlements ramparts and barbicans and as I could only see about two hundred of them moving about, I suspected what was happening, that they intended to go or were retreating. Then I and another, my companion, quickly entered through a breach, and there were a matter of . . . [two hundred] warriors who threw themselves upon us and gave us many thrusts with their lances, and had we not been promptly supported by some Indians from Zinacantan who shouted to our soldiers who at once entered after us into the fortress we should have there lost our lives. When those Chamultecs who were standing there facing us with their lances saw the supports they turned to flight, for the other warriors had already fled under cover of the mist, and our Captain with all the soldiers and allies entered within. They had already carried off their provisions and even the women

and children and they had gone by that very bad pass which I have said was very deep and had a bad ascent and worse descent, and we went in pursuit and captured many women, boys and children and over thirty men. No spoil was found in the pueblo save provisions.

When this was done we returned with our prisoners on the road to Zinacantan, and it was settled that we should place our camp near to the river where the Ciudad Real is now established, which for another name they call Chiapas of the Spaniards. From this place Captain Luis Marin set free six Indians with their wives from among the prisoners taken at Chamula, in order that they should go and summon the people of Chamula, and he told them to have no fear, and he would give them up all the prisoners, and the messengers set off and the next day they came in peaceably and brought all their people, none were left behind and after giving their fealty to His Majesty, Captain Luis Marin entrusted me with that town, for Cortés had written to him from Mexico that he should give me something good out of what he conquered, also because I was a great friend of Luis Marin, also because I was the first soldier who got into the fortress.

Cortés sent me a Warrant of Allotment, and up to this day I have the Warrant of Allotment well taken care of, and they paid me tribute for more than eight years, during which time the Ciudad Real was not settled for it was founded later and my pueblo was given towards the founding of it.

Let us leave this and return to our story :—As Chamula was already at peace and Gueyguistlan was in revolt and would not make peace although we sent to summon it, our Captain arranged that we should go and seek the people in their pueblos, and I say here pueblos for there were then three villages all standing within forts. We left our wounded and baggage in the place where our

ranchos were, and the most active and healthy soldiers went with the Captain, and the people of Zinacantan gave us over three hundred Indian warriors who went with us. From there to the pueblos of Gueyguistlan was a matter of four leagues, and as we marched towards their pueblos we found the roads blocked, full of timber and felled trees and so much obstructed that the horses could not pass, and we cleared them with the help of the allies we had brought with us and they removed the timber and we went to one of the three pueblos which I have already said was a fortress and found it full of warriors and they began to shout and yell at us and to shoot javelins and arrows and they had great lances and shields and two handed swords [edged] with stones that cut like knives, just like those at Chamula. While our Captain and all of us were ascending to the fortress, which was much stronger and more difficult to capture than that of Chamula, they made up their minds to take to flight and left the pueblo deserted without any food supplies in it. The Zinacantecs captured two of their Indians who were promptly brought before the Captain who ordered them to be released so they could summon all the rest of their neighbours to make peace. We waited there one day for them to come with the reply, and they all came peaceably and brought a present of gold of little value and plumes of Quetzals which are feathers which are greatly valued among them.

We returned to our ranchos, and as many other things happened which do not concern our story I will not recount them, and will relate how as soon as we returned to our ranchos we began to discuss if it would be well to found a town there where we were, in accordance with Cortés's orders that we should make settlements. And many of us soldiers who were there said that it would be a good thing and others who had good Indians at

Coatzacoalcos opposed it and advanced as a pretext that we had no shoes for the horses, and that we were few in number and most of us wounded, and that the land was very thickly peopled and most of the pueblos were fortified and among great mountains and that the horses were of no use or profit to us, and to the same effect they said other things, and the worst was that Captain Luis Marin and Diego de Godoy who was a King's Notary and a very meddlesome person did not wish to settle but to return to our town. It appeared that Alonzo de Grado, whom I have at other times mentioned in the last chapter, who was more of a bully than a fighting man, had secretly brought a Warrant of Allotment signed by Cortés which gave him the half of the pueblo of Chiapas as soon as it was pacified, and by virtue of that warrant he demanded of the Captain Luis Marin that he should give him the gold that was acquired in Chiapas by gift from the Indians, and the other [lot] which was captured in the Temples of the Idols in this same Chiapas, which amounted to one thousand five hundred pesos. Luis Marin said that was to help to pay for the horses that were killed in the war and on that journey, and over this and over other disputes they were very ill disposed one to the other, and they came to such words that Alonzo de Grado who was ill-conditioned went too far in what he said. The man who interfered and stirred up all the strife was the Notary Diego de Godoy, so that Luis Marin imprisoned both one and the other, and he kept them in fetters and chains for six or seven days, and he decided to send Alonzo de Grado to Mexico, and on account of offers and promises and through kind intercessors he set Godoy free, and that made matters worse, for El Grado and Godoy at once planned to write from there to Cortés post haste saying much evil of Luis Marin, and Alonzo

de Grado even begged me to write myself to Cortés and excuse Grado from blame in my letter, for Godoy told Grado that Cortés would give credit to my letter when he saw it, and that I should not speak well of Marin. I wrote what seemed to me to be the truth not giving blame to Captain Marin.

Alonzo de Grado was promptly sent a prisoner to Mexico and an oath was taken from him that he would present himself before Cortés within eighty days, for from Zinacantan to Mexico by the road we came was over one hundred and ninety leagues.

Let us cease talking of all these broils and embarrasments. When Alonzo de Grado had set off, we decided to go and punish the people of Cimatan who had killed the two soldiers already mentioned by me, at the time when Francisco Martin the Biscayan and I escaped out of their hands. So we went along towards some pueblos called Tapilula,[1] and before reaching them there were some mountains and defiles so difficult both of ascent and descent that we considered it a most arduous task to cross by that pass, and Luis Marin sent to beg the Caciques of those pueblos to clear the road so that we could go to them. This they did and with much labour we got the horses across, and then we went by other pueblos named Sulusuchiapa[2] and Coyumelapa and thence we went to this Istapangajoya[3] and after arriving there went on to other towns named Tecomayacate and Teapa,[4] which at that time was all one pueblo and stood together, house to house and was one of the largest in that province and was in my allotment, given me by Cortés and even this very

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[1] Tapelola
[2] Silo Suchiapa
[3] Panguaxoya
} In the text,— all towns on the road from San Cristóbal to Teapa.

[4] Ateapan in the text.

day I possess the Warrants of Allotment signed by Cortés.

There were at that time many villages and other towns joined with them, which came out to attack us at the passage of a very deep river which flowed by the town, and they wounded six soldiers and killed three horses, and we were there a good while fighting with them. At last we crossed the river and they fled, and they themselves set fire to the houses and took to the forest. We remained six days attending to the wounded and making expeditions where we captured very good looking Indian women, and he [Marin] sent to summon them to make peace and said that he would give them up the people we had captured and would forgive them for the late war, and almost all the Indians came in and re-peopled their town and demanded their women and children as had been promised, and the Notary Diego de Godoy advised the Captain Luis Marin not to give them up but to brand them with the King's brand which was applied to those who having once given their fealty to His Majesty rose in revolt without any cause, and because those pueblos came out to attack us and shot at and killed three horses, they should pay for the horses with those Indian girls who were prisoners.

I replied that they ought not to be branded and it was not just, because they had come in peaceably. Over this Godoy and I had a great argument and dispute and even to sword thrusts so that both came out wounded when they separated us and made us friends. The Captain Luis Marin who was very good and not suspicious and saw that it was not just to act otherwise than as I asked him, as a favour ordered all the women and all the others who had been captured to be given up to the Caciques of the towns, and we left them in their houses fully pacified. Thence we crossed to the pueblo of Cimatan and to other

pueblos called Talatupan, and before the entrance to the pueblo they had made some loopholed walls and ramparts close to a hill and near some swamps and as we approached they suddenly let fly at us such a flight of arrows with such precision and spirit that they wounded over twenty soldiers and killed two horses, and if we had not promptly routed them and destroyed their palisades and loopholes they would have killed and wounded many more, and they soon sought refuge in the swamps. The Indians of these provinces are great archers and they can pierce with their bows and arrows double folds of well quilted cotton armour which is a great feat. We remained in their pueblo for two days and we sent to summon them and they would not come in peaceably, and as we were tired and there were many swamps which shake, where the horses were not able to go, and indeed no one can go into them without sticking in the mud or get out again unless he should crawl out on all fours, and they are so dangerous that it is a wonder if he gets out at all, and not to waste words about this, we all agreed to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos, and we returned through some pueblos of Chontalpa called Guimango and Nacajuca and Teotitan Copilco[1] and we passed other pueblos and Jalpa[2] and the river of Agualulco and that of Tonalá and finally reached the town of Coatzacoalcos.

The gold that was acquired in Chiapas and Chamula, rated at so much per pound, went to pay for the horses killed in the war.

Let us leave this and relate how Alonzo de Grado arrived in Mexico and came before Cortés, who when he knew how he had been acting, said to him very angrily: "How is it Señor Alonzo de Grado you cannot fit into

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[1] In the text. Guymango Encaxuyxuyca E Teotitan Copileco.

[2] Ulapa in the text.

one place or another, I am troubled at it, and I beg you to change these bad manners, if not, in truth, I must send you to the Island of Cuba although I will arrange to give you three thousand pesos on which to live there, for I cannot put up with you any longer." Alonzo de Grado humbled himself in such a way that he again became on good terms with Cortés. Luis Marin wrote to Cortés about all that had taken place, and I will leave off here and relate what happened at Court about the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano.

CHAPTER CLXVII.

How our Proctors who were in Spain challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Burgos, and what else happened.

I HAVE already said in former chapters that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, for so he was called, was greatly interested in the affairs of Diego Velásquez but hostile to those of Cortés and all of us. It pleased Our Lord Jesus Christ that in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty one, our very holy father the Pope Adriano de Lobayna was chosen in Rome for the Chief Pontificate, and at that time he was in Castile as its Governor, and resided in the City of Vitoria, and our Proctors went to kiss his holy feet, and a great German Lord who belonged to His Majesty's cabinet named Mosiur de Lasao came to congratulate him on his pontificate on behalf of Our Lord the Emperor. His Holiness and Mosiur de Lasao already had news of the heroic deeds and great exploits which Cortés and all of us had accomplished in the conquest of this New Spain and the many great and distinguished services which we were always rendering to His Majesty, and of the conversion of so many thousands of Indians to our Holy Faith, and it

seems that this German nobleman begged the Holy Father Adriano to deign to decide very promptly the affairs pending between Cortés and the Bishop of Burgos. His Holiness was much concerned because beside the complaints that our Proctors placed before our Holy Father many other persons of quality had gone to him to complain of the Bishop himself, on account of the many injuries and injustices which they alleged he was committing, for as His Majesty was in Flanders and the Bishop was President of the [Council of the] Indies, he ordered everything, and he was hated, and from what we understood our Proctors found the courage to dare to challenge his jurisdiction. So Diego de Ordás, and the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez a cousin of Cortés and Martin Cortés father of the said Cortés united at the Court and with the support of other gentlemen and great Lords who favoured them, and the one of them who interposed most [actively] was the Duke de Bejar, and with this support with great boldness and daring they challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop so often mentioned by me, and the reasons they advanced were very well proved :—the first was that Diego Velásquez had given the Bishop a very good town in the Island of Cuba, and with Indians from the said town extracted gold for him from the Mines and sent it to him to Castile, and that no town whatever had been given to His Majesty, although he was under more obligation to him than to the Bishop ; the other was that when in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen we got together one hundred and ten soldiers under the Captain named Francisco Hernández de Córdova, and at our expense bought ships and ships' stores and all the rest, and set out to discover New Spain, the Bishop of Burgos reported to His Majesty that Diego Velásquez discovered it, and it was not so ; the next was that Diego Velásquez sent to the country we had discovered his

nephew named Juan de Grijalva and that they made further discoveries and acquired on that voyage over twenty thousand pesos de oro by barter, and that Diego Velásquez sent the most of it to the Bishop himself, and gave none of it to His Majesty; and that when Cortés came to conquer New Spain and sent a present to His Majesty, which was the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun, and much gold in grains got out of the Mines, and a great quantity of jewels and ingots and objects of gold of different kinds, and Cortés and all of us soldiers wrote to His Majesty giving a report and account of all that happened and sent it by Francisco de Montejo and another gentleman named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, he [the Bishop] would not listen to them and took away the entire present of gold which was going to His Majesty, and abused them calling them traitors [adding] that they came to petition in favour of another traitor; and that he suppressed the letters addressed to His Majesty and wrote others very different from them, saying that his friend Diego Velásquez was sending that present, and that he did not send all they brought, for the Bishop kept half or the greater part of it, and because Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, who was one of the two Proctors whom Cortés sent, asked the Bishop to give him leave to go to Flanders where His Majesty was residing he ordered him to be thrown into prison and he died in jail. He [the Bishop] sent orders to the India House[1] at Seville to the accountant Pedro de Ysasaga and to Juan López de Recalte, who were there as His Majesty's officers, not to give any assistance to Cortés either with soldiers or arms nor anything else, and appointed to offices and employments, without consulting His Majesty, worthless men who neither deserved them

[1] Casa de Contratacion.

nor possessed the ability or knowledge for command, such as Cristóbal de Tápia, so as to marry his niece Doña Potronilla de Fonseca with Tápia, or Diego Velásquez [to whom] he promised the Government of New Spain, and approved as correct the false reports and legal documents which the Proctors of Diego Velásquez put forward, such as those of Andrés de Duero, Manuel Rojas and the Padre Benito Martin, and he sent them to His Majesty as reliable, and the reports of Cortés and all of us who were serving His Majesty, which were very truthful, he concealed and twisted and condemned as wrong.

They advanced many other charges all very well supported, and it was not possible to hide anything however much they alleged on his behalf.

After this was done and written out fair, it was taken to Zaragoza where His Holiness was then staying and the complaint was made. As soon as he [the Pope] obtained an insight into the records and legal documents quoted in the accusation, and [saw] that the statements of the partisans of Diego Velásquez were refuted notwithstanding their claims for expenses incurred by him for ships and maintenance, on account of his not having applied to our Lord the King, but only to his friend the Archbishop of Burgos, whilst Cortés had done what was his duty as a loyal servant, His Holiness in his capacity as Governor of Castile . . . as well as Pope, ordered the Bishop of Burgos at once to resign the office of judging in the affairs and suits of Cortés and to have no further intervention in the affairs of the Indies, and he appointed Hernando Cortés as Governor of this New Spain and [said] that if Diego Velásquez had expended anything that we should pay it back to him.

He even sent to New Spain Bulls with many indulgences for the Hospitals and Churches and wrote a letter charging Cortés and all of us Conquistadores who were in his com-

pany always to exercise much diligence in the holy conversion of the Natives, and that it should be done without killing and robbery, but peaceably and as well as it could be done, and that we should prohibit and do away with [human] sacrifices and sodomy and other wickedness and he said in his letter that, on account of the great service we were rendering our Lord God and His Majesty, His Holiness as our father and pastor would undertake to pray to God for our Souls on account of the great good that all Christendom had received at our hands. Moreover he sent us other Holy Bulls for our absolution.

When our Proctors saw what the Holy Father commanded both as Pontiff and Governor of Castile they at once sent messengers past haste to where His Majesty was staying, for he had already returned from Flanders and was in Castile. They moreover took letters from His Holiness for our Monarch, and after being well informed about what I have already spoken about, he [the Emperor] confirmed what the high Pontiff had ordered and declared Cortés to be Governor of New Spain, and that Diego Velásquez should be repaid what he had expended from his property on the fleet. Moreover he ordered the Government of the Island of Cuba to be taken from him inasmuch as he had sent the fleet with Pánfilo de Narvaez without permission of His Majesty, notwithstanding that the Royal Audiencia of the Geronimite Friars who resided in Santo Domingo as Governors had forbidden it, and in order to take it [the Armada] from him had even sent a Judge of the Royal Audiencia named Lucas Velásquez de Ayllon to stop the fleet from sailing, but instead of obeying him [the Judge] they made him prisoner and sent him in chains in a ship.

Let us cease speaking of this and say how when the Bishop of Burgos knew all that I have already stated and what His Holiness and His Majesty had commanded

should be notified to him, he was so angry that he became very ill and left the Court and went to Toro where he had his residence and houses, and for all that his brother Don Antonio de Fonseca Señor de Coca y Alexos made attempts to support him, he was not able to reinstate him in the authority which he formerly held.

Let us stop talking about this and say that after the great prosperity which ensued in favour of Cortés opposition soon followed and overtook Cortés in the antagonism of grave accusations brought against him by Pánfilo de Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia and by the Pilot Cárdenas, who, as I have said in the chapter that treats of it, fell ill from brooding because they had not given him a share of gold from the first that was sent to Castile. Gonzalo de Umbria also accused him,—he was the pilot whose feet Cortés ordered to be cut off, because he revolted with his ship, and with Cermeño and Pedro de Escudero whom he (Cortés) ordered to be hanged.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez and Cristóbal de Tápia and a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, and another soldier named Cárdenas appeared before His Majesty with the support of the Bishop of Burgos (although he had no authority to interfere in matters concerning the Indies, for they had already taken his authority from him ;) these named by me were all staying in Toro, and they brought before His Majesty many complaints against Cortés, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said in the last chapter how His Holiness saw and understood the great services that Cortés and all of us conquistadores who fought in his company had performed for Our Lord God and for His Majesty and all Christendom, and how he favoured Cortés by making

him Governor of New Spain, and had sent Bulls and indulgences for the Churches and Hospitals and holy absolutions for all of us. When His Majesty had seen all that the Holy Father ordered, after being well informed about all its truth, he confirmed it with other royal appointments. At that time the Bishop of Burgos was removed from his office of President of [the Council of] the Indies and went to live at the City of Toro. Just then Pánfilo de Narvaez who had been captain of the fleet which Diego Velásquez sent against us, arrived in Castile and Cristóbal de Tápia arrived at the same time, whom the Bishop himself had sent to take over the Government of New Spain, and they brought in their company Gonzalo de Umbria and another soldier named Cárdenas, and they all went together to Toro to demand support from the Bishop of Burgos, so that they could go and complain of Cortés before His Majesty, for His Majesty had already returned from Flanders.

The Bishop wished for nothing better than to lodge complaints against Cortés and against us, and he gave them support and promises to this end, and they assembled the proctors of Diego Velásquez who were at Court, namely Bernaldino Velásquez whom he had already sent from Cuba to represent him, and Benito Martin and Manuel de Rojas, and they all went together before our Lord the Emperor, and complained strongly of Cortés. The Charges they preferred against him were that Diego Velásquez sent to explore and settle New Spain three times, and expended a great sum of pesos de oro in ships and arms and ships' stores, and things that he gave to the soldiers, and that he sent Hernando Cortés in the fleet as its Captain, and that he (Cortés) revolted with the fleet and made him no return whatever. They also charged him that, notwithstanding all this, when Velásquez sent Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain of more than fourteen hundred

soldiers in eighteen ships with many horses, musketeers and crossbowmen, and with letters and decrees of His Majesty signed by his President of the [Council of the] Indies, who was the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, [ordering him] to hand over the Government of New Spain, and he (Cortés) would not obey, on the contrary he attacked him [Narvaez], defeated him and killed his standard bearer and other Captains, and put out his eye, and burned all the property he possessed and seized Narvaez himself and other Captains who were in his company. That notwithstanding this defeat the said Bishop of Burgos decreed that Cristóbal de Tápia should go, and he went to take over the Government of those Countries in the name of His Majesty, and he [Cortés] would not obey him, and by force made him embark and return; and they accused him [Cortés] of having demanded much gold from all the cities of New Spain in the name of His Majesty and that he took it and hid it and has it in his possession.

They accused him that to the annoyance of all his soldiers he took a *fifth* like a king of all the country that had been annexed in Mexico; they accused him of having ordered the burning of Guatemoc's feet, and those of other Caciques, so that they should give him gold, and they also advanced the charge of the death of Catalina Juarez la Marcayda the wife of Cortés; they accused him of neither giving nor assisting his soldiers with shares of the gold, but keeping all of it for himself; they accused him of building palaces and fortified houses as big as a village and making all the cities in the neighbourhood of Mexico work at them, and bring great Cypress trees and stone from distant lands: they accused him of giving poison to Francisco de Garay so as to take over his men and fleet, and they advanced many other complaints and accusations so numerous, that His Majesty was angry at

hearing all this injustice that they alleged he had committed, believing it to be true.

In addition to this Narvaez speaking very loudly said these words which you will [now] hear.

"So that Your Majesty may know how things went on the night when they captured and defeated me, having some royal decrees in my bosom, when I drew them out quickly (and my eye was destroyed) so that they should not be burnt, for at that time the chamber in which I stood was on fire, they were forcibly taken from my bosom by one of Cortés's Captains named Alonzo de Ávila who is now a prisoner in France, and he would not return them to me, and stated publicly that they were not decrees but bills that I came to collect". Then they say the Emperor laughed. The reply he [the Emperor] gave was that he would order justice to be done, and would do it in the matter; and he promptly ordered certain gentlemen to assemble from his royal Councils and from the royal cabinet, persons in whom His Majesty had confidence that they would do strict justice, and they were named Mercurino Catirinario, Grand Chancellor and an Italian, Monsior de Lasao and the Doctor de la Rocha, Flemmings, Hernando de Vega, Lord of Graxales and Grand Commander of the Order of Castile, the Doctor Lorenzo Galíndez de Caravajal, and the Licenciado Vargas, Treasurer General of Castile.

When they told His Majesty that they were assembled he charged them to examine with full proofs the suits and disputes between Cortés and Diego Velásquez and those complainants and to do justice in all without respect of persons nor favour to any except to Justice.

As soon as those gentlemen had understood the Royal Order they decided to meet in some houses and palaces where the Grand Chancellor was lodged and commanded the appearance of Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia, the Pilot

Umbria, Cárdenas, and of Manuel de Rojas, Benito Martin and a Velásquez, these were Proctors for Diego Velásquez. There also appeared on behalf of Cortês, his father, Martin Cortés, the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez and Diego de Ordás, and they ordered the Proctors of Diego Velásquez to bring forward all their complaints, demands and charges against Cortés and they repeated the same complaints they had laid before His Majesty. To this Cortés's Proctors replied that as to what was said about Diego Velásquez being the first to send and discover New Spain having spent many pesos de oro, it was not as they stated, those who discovered it were Francisco Hernández de Córdova with one hundred and ten soldiers, at their own expense. On the contrary Diego Velásquez deserved heavy punishment because he ordered Francisco Hernández and his companions who made the discovery, to go to the Island of the Guanaxes to capture Indians by force to serve as slaves, and of this they showed proofs and on this point there was no contradiction. They also said that if Diego Velásquez next sent his relation Grijalva with another fleet, Diego Velásquez did not send him to form a settlement but to trade, and the greater part of what was expended on the fleet was found by the Captains who had charge of the ships and not by Diego Velásquez; that they gained twenty thousand pesos by barter, and that Diego Velásquez kept the greater part of it and sent it to the Bishop of Burgos to get his support, and that he did not give a share of it to His Majesty, only as much as he had a mind to. Moreover he gave Indians to the said Bishop in the Island of Cuba to extract gold for him, and to His Majesty he gave not one town, although he was under greater obligation to His Majesty than to the Bishop; of this there was good proof and it was not refuted. On this point they also declared that if he sent Hernando Cortés with another fleet it was by the grace

of God and in the interest of the Emperor himself, and it was certain that if he had sent another Captain he would have been defeated on account of the great multitude of warriors who assembled against him, and that when Diego Velásquez despatched him he did not send him to settle but to trade; proofs of this were shown, that if he (Cortés) remained to form a settlement it was at the request of his companions, and seeing that it was to the service of God and of His Majesty he formed settlements, and that it was a very successful matter and a report of it had been sent to His Majesty, and he had sent him all the gold he was able to acquire, and he wrote two letters to him about it, informing him of what has been stated above, and that [he] Cortés and all his companions bowed to the ground in compliance with his royal commands. Then a report was made of all the things that the Bishop of Burgos did for Diego Velásquez, and that we sent our Proctors with the gold and letters, and the Bishop concealed our many services and did not forward our letters to His Majesty, but others such as suited him, and that he kept most of the gold that we sent for himself and distorted nearly everything that His Majesty ought to have known, and he did not tell the truth about anything, as he was bound to do, to our King and Lord, and because our Proctors wished to go to Flanders [to appear] before his royal person, he threw one of them named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, into prison and he died there. The said Bishop ordered the officials of the India House at Seville not to give any assistance to Cortés either in the matter of arms or of soldiers, but to thwart him in everything, and he loudly called us traitors. The Bishop did all this because he was arranging a marriage between Diego Velásquez or Tápia and his niece or daughter named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and had promised that he would make him

Governor of Mexico, and for all of this that I have stated they exhibited copies of the letters we had written to His Majesty, and other sufficient proofs; and on behalf of Diego Velásquez this was not refuted in any particular because they had nothing to oppose to it.

As to what was said about Pánfilo de Narvaez, that Diego Velásquez sent him with eighteen ships, fourteen hundred soldiers, one hundred horses, eighty musketeers and as many crossbowmen and had been put to great expense, they replied that Diego Velásquez deserved the punishment of death for having sent that expedition without His Majesty's permission, and because when he sent his Proctors to Castile he submitted nothing whatever to Our Lord the King as was his duty, but only to the Bishop of Burgos.

The Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, sent to the Island of Cuba to order Diego Velásquez under pain of heavy punishment not to despatch that fleet until His Majesty should know about it and he had His Royal permission to do so, for to act otherwise was to do a great dis-service to God and His Majesty by raising discords in New Spain during the time that Cortés and his companions were conquering and converting such a great number of natives, who were converted to our Holy Catholic faith; and in order to detain the fleet they sent a Judge of the same Royal Audiencia named the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and instead of obeying him and the royal orders that he brought, they threw him in prison and without any [show of] respect, sent him away in a ship. As Narvaez who was present was the one who committed that irreverent offence touching on the crime of "laesa Magistatis", he (also) was deserving of death, and they begged those gentlemen mentioned by me who were serving as judges to order him to be

punished, and they (the judges) replied that they would see that justice was done.

Let us continue the relation of the refutations made by our Proctors, as to what had been said about Cortés not wishing to obey the royal decrees brought by Narvaez, and having made war on him and defeated him and destroyed his eye and captured him and all his Captains and set fire to his quarters. To this they replied as follows :—

When Narvaez arrived in New Spain and disembarked the first thing he did was to send word to the great Cacique Montezuma, whom Cortés held prisoner, that he had come to release him and to kill all of those who were with Cortés, and he disturbed the country to such an extent that where all had been peaceful it reverted again to warfare. As soon as Cortés heard that Narvaez had come to the Port of Vera Cruz he wrote to him very courteously that if he brought decrees from His Majesty, he wished to see and obey them with the respect he owed to his King and Lord, and he [Narvaez] would not answer his letters but in his camp was always calling him [Cortés] a traitor, which he was not, but a loyal servant of His Majesty, and when Narvaez ordered a proclamation of blood and fire and free loot to be made in his camp against Cortés and his companions, he [Cortés] begged him many times for peace and to be careful not to upset New Spain in a way that would result in all being lost. He offered to go away to such a part of the country as he might wish to conquer and Narvaez should go in any other direction which pleased him best, and that between them they would serve God and His Majesty and pacify those countries, but not even to this would he [Narvaez] give any reply. When Cortés saw that all those acts of courtesy were in vain, and he was not shown the royal decrees, and heard of the great irreverence

Narvaez had committed in seizing His Majesty's Judge, he decided, in order to punish him for that crime, to go and speak to him and see the royal decrees and learn for what reason he had seized the Judge. [Our Proctors also stated] that Narvaez had certainly arranged to capture Cortés . . . . . and of this they produced proofs and sufficient attestations, and moreover as a witness [they called] Andrés de Duero who was there on the side of Narvaez when that happened, and it was this same Duero who gave notice of it to Cortés. To all this the party of Diego Velásquez could offer no refutation whatever. As to the accusations regarding the coming of Francisco Garay to Panuco with a great fleet and decrees from His Majesty by which he was made Governor of that province, and that Cortés had shown great cunning and assiduity in inducing Garay's soldiers to rise against him, and the Indians of the said province killed many of them, and his taking certain ships from them, and committing other excesses, until Garay saw that he was lost and deserted and without captains or soldiers and went to place himself within Cortés's doors and lodged in his house, and within eight days of breakfasting with him he died of poison that they had then given him,—they replied that it was not so. For there was no need for Cortés to make Garay's soldiers mutiny, because as Garay was not a man suited for warfare he had no skill with soldiers, and because they did not meet with good land when he disembarked, but with rivers and bad swamps and mosquitos and bats, and those whom he brought in his company heard news of the great prosperity of Mexico and the riches and the good report of the liberality of Cortés, there was reason enough for them to go to him to Mexico; and his [Garay's] soldiers wandered about through the pueblos of those provinces robbing the natives and taking their daughters and wives, and the natives rose against them

and killed the soldiers and he [Cortés] did not, as they say, seize the ships, but they were wrecked. If Cortés sent his Captains it was so that they might speak to Garay offering themselves to him on behalf of Cortés, and to examine the royal decrees, whether they were at variance with those which Cortés already possessed, and that Garay seeing himself deserted by his soldiers, and his ships run aground, came to get help in Mexico, and Cortés ordered much honour to be paid to him on the road, and [prepared] banquets in Texcoco, and when he entered Mexico he went out to receive him, and lodged him in his house, and had arranged a marriage between their children, and wished to give him support and assistance to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and that if he fell ill and God was pleased to take him from this world what fault had Cortés in the matter? Great honour was paid to him in his burial, and they put on mourning for him and the doctors who attended him swore that it was pleurisy and that was the truth and there was no refutation. As to what was said about his exacting a fifth like a King, they answered that when they made him Captain General and Chief Justice, until His Majesty might decide otherwise, the soldiers promised to give him a fifth from the shares after the royal fifth was taken out, and he took it because he afterwards spent all he possessed in His Majesty's service, for he went on the expedition to Panuco and paid over sixty thousand pesos de oro from his property, and sent in presents to His Majesty much of the gold that had come to him from his fifth, and they exhibited proofs of all they said and there was no refutation from the Proctors of Diego Velásquez.

As to what was alleged about Cortés having taken from the soldiers the shares of gold which fell to them, they said that they were given to them in accordance

with the account of the gold which was found on the Capture of Mexico, for very little was found, because the Indians of Tlaxcala and Texcoco and the other warriors who were present in the battles and wars had stolen it all; and there was no refutation to this. Concerning what was stated about the death of Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda the wife of Cortés, they denied it, for she was already ill with asthma and died the next morning. As to what was said about Cortés ordering the feet of Guatemoc and the other Caciques to be burnt with oil, so as to make them yield up the gold, to this they replied that His Majesty's officers did the burning against the wish of Cortés, to make them [the Caciques] betray the whereabouts of the treasure of Montezuma, and for this they furnished plenty of evidence.

Regarding the charge that he had built very great houses and held court in them[1] and had caused tree timber and cypresses and stone to be brought from distant lands, they replied that the houses were in truth most sumptuous for he had them built for His Majesty's service and in his Royal Name, but that the timber and cypresses grew close to the city and were brought by water, and as for stone, there was so much from the temples of the idols which they destroyed, that there was no necessity to bring it from outside, and in order to dress it, all that was needed was to order the great Cacique Guatemoc to have it dressed by Indian artizans of whom there are many, both builders and carpenters, and Guatemoc had summoned all his towns for the purpose, for it was the custom among the Indians to build the houses and palaces of their Lords in this manner.

As to the complaint of Narvaez, that Alonzo de Ávila

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[1] Avia en ellas una villa.

snatched the royal decrees from his breast by force and would not give them back and gave out that they were bills which he had come to collect, and that he did it by Cortés's orders:—they answered that they saw no decrees but only three notes of hand for certain horses and mares which had been sold on credit, and these they gave back to Narvaez. Cortés never saw any such decrees nor ordered them to be taken from him.

As to the complaint of the Pilot Umbria that Cortés had ordered his feet to be cut off and ill treated for no reason whatever:—they answered that they were cut off, according to justice and judgment that was given on the matter, for he tried to revolt with his ship and to desert his Captain in wartime and go to Cuba with two other men whom Cortés justly ordered to be hanged. As to the plea of Cárdenas, that they had not given him his share of the first gold that was sent to His Majesty, they said that he signed [a declaration] with many others that he wanted no share in it, but that it should be sent to His Majesty, and in addition to this Cortés gave him three hundred pesos to take to his wife and children, and that Cárdenas not being a man fit for warfare and crack brained and of no use he was very well paid with the three hundred pesos. And finally they answered that if Cortés went against Narvaez and defeated him and destroyed his eye and took him and his captains prisoners and burnt his quarters, Narvaez himself was the cause of it, according to what they had [already] stated and alleged, and [it was done] as a punishment for the great irreverence he had committed in seizing one of His Majesty's Judges, and as right was on the side of Cortés and his companions in that battle which he fought with Narvaez Our Lord God was pleased to give the victory to Cortés who with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, without horses or muskets or crossbows but with great

skill and presents of gold, defeated Narvaez and destroyed his eye and captured him and his Captains who brought against Cortés thirteen hundred soldiers and among them one hundred horsemen, and as many musketeers and cross-bowmen, and had Narvaez remained as Captain of New Spain, it would have been lost. As to what was said about Cristóbal de Tápia coming to take over the Government of New Spain with decrees from His Majesty and their refusing to obey him:—to this they answered that Cristóbal de Tápia, who was there present, had been content to sell some horses and negroes, and had he gone to Mexico where Cortés was stationed and shown him his authority, he [Cortés] would have obeyed it, but as all the gentlemen and the municipalities of all the cities and towns saw that it was desirable that Cortés should hold the Government at that time, because Tápia was not fit for it, they protested against the royal decrees to His Majesty, as appears in the deeds which were drawn up on the subject.

After they had finished stating their demands on behalf of Diego Velásquez and Narvaez, and those gentlemen [already] mentioned by me, as Judges had taken note of the replies, and all that was alleged on behalf of Cortés and proved, and had been occupied for five days in listening to one side and the other, they decided to submit the whole matter in a consultation to His Majesty, and after a unanimous decision had been reached, the judgment they delivered was as follows:—

Firstly, they considered Cortés a good and loyal servant of His Majesty, as well as everyone of us the true conquistadores who went with him, and they esteemed highly our great fidelity and they praised and extolled in the highest degree the great battles and the daring we showed against the Indians, and did not omit mentioning how few in number we were when we defeated Narvaez, and

promptly silenced Diego Velásquez as to his claim to the government of New Spain, and that if he had spent anything on the fleets that he might justly demand it from Cortés. They next gave judgment that Cortés should be governor of New Spain according to the orders of the high Pontiff and they approved in the name of His Majesty of the allotments Cortés had made, and gave him authority to grant lands from that time forward, and they approved of all he had done for it was clearly for the service of God and His Majesty.

In the affair of Garay, and in other matters touching the charges they brought against him [such as] the death of his wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda, they came to no decision with regard to it, it was reserved for a future time when they would send to take his Residencia. As to the charge Narvaez put forward, about their snatching the decrees from his breast, and that it was Alonzo de Ávila [who did it] who was at the time a prisoner in France, for Juan Florin, the great Pirate, had seized him when he stole Montezuma's jewels which we were sending; those gentlemen declared that he [Narvaez] had better go and ask him in France or that they should cite him to appear before His Majesty's Court, so as to hear what he would answer to it. As to the two pilots Umbria and Cárdenas, they ordered them to be given royal grants so that they should each be given Indians in New Spain who would produce an equivalent of a thousand pesos de oro. They ordered that all the conquistadores should receive a preference and that they should give us good allotments of Indians, and that we should be entitled to seats of honour, both within the holy churches as well as in other places.

When this judgment was given and delivered by those gentlemen whom His Majesty had appointed as Judges, they took it to Valladolid where His Majesty was re-

siding, to be signed, for at that time (having come from Flanders) he had ordered all his royal Court and Council to proceed there, and His Majesty signed it, and issued other royal decrees to turn out other renegades from New Spain; so that there should be no obstacle to the conversion of the Natives. He also ordered that no lawyers should go there for some years, for, wherever they are, they stir up lawsuits, arguments and discord. All these decisions were issued with His Majesty's signature and counter-signed by those gentlemen who acted as judges and by Don García de Padilla in this same city of Valladolid on the seventeenth of May in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty something, and they came legalized by the Secretary Don Francisco de los Cobos[1] who was afterwards Comendador Mayor of Leon.

Then His Majesty wrote to Cortés and all of us who had gone with him thanking us for the many good and distinguished services we had performed for him, and at that time also Don Hernando of Hungary, King of the Romans and father of the present Emperor,[2] wrote another letter in reply to one Cortés had written and sent to him with a present of many golden jewels, and what the King of Hungary said in the letter he wrote, was that he had already heard the news of the many and great services that he had performed first to God and to his Lord and brother the Emperor and to all Christendom and he (Cortés) should let him know of any wishes he might have so that he could intercede for them in favour of their fulfilment with his Lord and brother the Emperor, for his (Cortés') generous personality was entitled to more than that, and he should give his allotments to his valiant

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[1] Francisco de los Covos. Marqués de Camerasa.

[2] Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles V., succeeded to the Empire on death of Charles V. in 1558.

soldiers who had assisted him. He added other complimentary expressions, and I remember that he signed himself "I, the King and Infante of Castile," and it was countersigned by his Secretary named somebody of Castillejo, and this letter I read two or three times in Mexico for Cortés showed it to me, so that I might see in what high esteem we the true conquistadores were held.

When our Proctors received those warrants they promptly despatched them post haste by Rodrigo de Paz, a cousin of Cortés and a relation of the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez, and there also went with them an hidalgo from Estremadura, also a relation of Cortés, named Francisco de Las Casas and they engaged a quick sailing ship and set their course for the Island of Cuba, and in Santiago de Cuba, where Diego Velásquez was Governor they notified him of the decrees and sentences ordering him to abandon his suit against Cortés, and to demand of him the disbursements he had made. The notification was made by sound of trumpet, and Diego Velásquez fell ill from vexation and died within a few months poor and discontented.

So as not to have to turn back again to recite what Francisco de Montejo and Diego de Ordás negotiated in Castile, I will state it now; to Francisco de Montejo His Majesty granted the Government of Yucatan and Cozumel and made him Adelantado which conveyed [the titles of] Don and Señoria; to Diego de Ordás His Majesty confirmed the [grant of] Indians that he held in New Spain, and gave him a Commandery of [the order of] Señor Santiago, and the Volcano which is near Huexotzingo as a coat of Arms, and with this they went back to New Spain, and within two or three years Ordás himself returned to Castile, and petitioned for leave to conquer Marañon, where he lost his life and all his property.

Let us leave this and say that when the Bishop of Burgos who in due time heard of the great favours which His Majesty bestowed on Cortés and all of us Conquistadores, and how those gentlemen already mentioned by me as Judges had gained full knowledge of the agreements that existed between him and Diego Velásquez and how he took the gold that we sent to His Majesty and concealed and distorted our many services and approved as good those of his friend Diego Velásquez, if he had been very sad and reflective before, he now on this occasion fell seriously ill on account of this and other annoyances which he suffered through a gentleman who was his nephew named Don Alonzo de Azevedo Fonseca, who was Archbishop of Santiago, for Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca claimed that Archbishopric.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how Francisco de Las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz arrived in New Spain and entered Mexico with the royal decrees which they brought from His Majesty to the effect that Cortés was to be Governor, what happiness and rejoicing they caused and what messengers started through all the provinces of New Spain to claim rewards in the towns which had been settled, and what favours Cortés conferred on Las Casas and on Rodrigo de Paz and others who came in their company who were from his home at Medellin. He made Francisco de Las Casas a Captain and at once gave him a town named Aguitlan, and to Rodrigo de Paz he gave other very good towns and made him his chief steward and secretary, and he ended by managing Cortés himself. To all those who came from his home at Medellin he gave Indians, and to the Master of the ship which brought the news that Cortés was governor, he gave gold with which he returned to Castile a rich man.

Let us cease from reciting the rejoicings and rewards

that were given on account of the news I have mentioned, and let me answer what some inquisitive readers have asked me, and they are quite right to bring up the discussion:—how was it possible for me to know what had happened in Spain, both what His Holiness commanded as well as the complaints they made against Cortés and the replies that our Proctors offered for consideration, and the judgment that was given in the matter, and many other particulars which I have here spoken of and stated, and which as I was at the time conquering in New Spain and its provinces, I could neither see nor hear? I answer them that not only did I get to know it, but all the conquistadores [did so] who cared to see and read it in four or five letters and reports which explained in their chapters how and when and at what time all that I have related had taken place, and these letters and reports our Proctors wrote from Castile so that we should know that they were pressing our business with great fervour.

I often said at the time that it looked as though what they obtained was solely on account of Cortés's affairs and their own, and that as for us who had won and conquered it [the country] and placed Cortés in the position that he occupied, we were always left to face one difficulty after another, and as there is much to be said on this subject, let it stay in the inkpot, except to pray our Lord God to remedy it and to incline the heart of our Great Cæsar to order his honest justice which in all things is infallible to be carried out.

Let us pass on and speak of what Cortés was occupied about after he was invested with the Government.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

What Cortés was engaged upon after he was invested with the Government of New Spain, how and in what way he allotted the pueblos of Indians and other things that took place, and a sort of grumbling it led to among the recipients.

THE Government of New Spain had no sooner been conferred on Cortés than it occurred to me and others of the original Conquistadores of most mature and prudent judgment that it would have to be Cortés's duty to bear in mind all the hardships that ensued from the day that he set out from the Island of Cuba onwards, and remember who were the persons who supported him when we disembarked on the Sand-dunes, and when he was chosen Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain. Who again were those who were always to be found at his side in all the wars, those of Tabasco and Cingapacinga and in the three battles of Tlaxcala, and in that of Cholula, when they had the pots all ready with Chili peppers to cook and eat us, and also who took his side when on account of six or seven soldiers who were not on good terms with him they bid him return to Villa Rica instead of going to Mexico, putting before him the great strength of warriors and the powerful fortification of the city, and who were those who entered Mexico with him and aided in the capture of the great Montezuma. Then when Pánfilo de Narvaez came with his fleet, who were the soldiers whom he took with him to aid him in the capture and defeat of Narvaez, and who were those who returned with him to Mexico to the relief of Pedro de Alvarado and were present at the bridges and the great attacks they made on us until we fled from Mexico, and out of the thirteen hundred soldiers eight hundred and fifty

were left dead, counting those who were killed in Tuxtepec and on the roads, and only four hundred and forty of us through God's Mercy escaped; and he should also be reminded who in that fearful battle of Otumba, after God, helped him to come out a conqueror from that extreme danger, and later on who were they and how many who helped him to conquer Tepeaca and Cachula and their neighbourhood, and Izucar and Guacachula, and how we took the round by way of Texcoco to Mexico, and the many other expeditions we made from Texcoco such as the affair of Iztapalapa when they tried to drown us, letting out (as they did) the water of the lake thinking to drown us in it; and in the same manner of the battles we fought with the natives of that pueblo and the Mexicans who helped them, and then of the expeditions to Zaltocan, and the Peñoles which they now call the Peñoles del Marqués, and many other expeditions; and the round of the great pueblos of the lake, and the many encounters and battles that took place during that journey such as those at Xochimilco and those at Tacuba; and on our return to Texcoco who were those who helped him against the conspiracy which was planned and settled to kill him, on which account he hanged one Villafaña. After this who were those who helped him to conquer Mexico and suffered many battles and wounds and hardships day and night for ninety-three days on end, until Guatemoc, who governed Mexico at that time, was captured. Who were those who helped him and backed him up when a certain Cristóbal de Tápia came to New Spain to take over the Government, and more than all this, who were the soldiers who wrote three times to His Majesty in praise of the many great, good and notable services that Cortés had done him, and [affirmed] that he was worthy of the highest rewards and should be made Governor of New Spain. I do not

wish now to call to mind other services which we were constantly performing for Cortés, we the manly and hardy soldiers who had gone through all this; but now when the Government had come to him, (and, after God, it was through our help that it was given to him) it would be seemly that he should take count of Dick, Tom and Harry[1] and others who deserved it, and the soldier and comrade who was perchance in Colima or Zacatula, or in Panuco or Coatzacoalcos, and those who fled away when Tututepec was abandoned, and who were poor because the luck of [possessing] good Indians had not fallen to their share, for there was property to dispose of, and [means of] removing them from unprofitable lands, as His Majesty had many times ordered and charged him to do in his Royal letters. Cortés gave nothing from his own property and he should have given what would have supported them and have given them preference in all things. When he wrote to the proctors who were in Castile he should have written in our name telling them to solicit on our behalf, and Cortés himself should have written to His Majesty very graciously begging him to give us for ourselves and our children all the appointments and royal offices that there were in New Spain, but I say other peoples troubles weighed lightly with him[2], and he solicited for himself alone the Government which they brought him not only before he was made a Marquis, but after he went to Castile and came back a Marquis.

Let us leave this and mention here another proceeding which would have been a very right and just way of apportioning the whole of the Pueblos of New Spain, according to the very learned Conquistadores of prudent

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[1] Con Pero y Sancho y Min.

[2] Mal ageno de pelo cuelga.

and mature judgment who captured it. What should have been done was this, to divide New Spain into five parts, one fifth part of the best cities and capitals of all the population to be given to His Majesty as his royal fifth, leaving another part for allotment so that the rent should go to the churches, hospitals and monasteries, and to enable His Majesty to grant some favours to gentlemen who had done him service if he wished to do so, and there would have been enough for all; and the three parts that remained should have been divided between Cortés and all of us original Conquistadores according to the rank which he considered that each of us held, and it should have been granted in perpetuity, for at that time His Majesty would have approved of it, as he had expended nothing on these conquests and neither knew nor had heard of this country, (residing as he did at that time in Flanders) and seeing that as loyal subjects we had delivered over to him a considerable part of the lands of the New World he would have been graciously pleased to make us a grant of them, and with that we should have settled down and should not have wandered on as we wander now like a lame mule, dejected and going from bad to worse under Governors who do just as they choose, while many of us Conquistadores have not enough to live on, [nor do we know] what will become of the children we leave behind us.

I wish to state what Cortés did and to whom he gave the pueblos; first of all [he gave them] to Francisco de Las Casas, to Rodrigo de Paz, to the Factor, the Veedor and the Accountant who at that time came from Castile, and to a certain Avalos and Saavedra his relations, and to one Barrios to whom he married his sister-in-law, sister of his wife la Marcayda, so that they should not accuse him of the murder of his wife, and to Alonzo Lucas and to one Juan de la Torre and Luis de la Torre

and to a Villegas and to one Alonzo Valiente and a Ribera the squint-eyed. Why do I count these few when to as many as came from Medellin, and to any servants of great lords who told him stories that pleased him he gave the best of New Spain. I do not say that it was better to abstain from giving to all, for there was plenty, but that he should have first considered those whom His Majesty recommended and the soldiers who helped him to gain the position and power he possessed, and should have assisted them. Now that it is done I do not wish to repeat any more, but I remember that a saying was current among us when there was anything of much importance to be divided that they used it as a proverb when there were debates about it, and they were wont to say "Not to divide it like Cortés who took all the gold and the most and the best of New Spain for himself" while we remain poor in the towns where we settled in the misery which fell to our lot, but when it comes to going on expeditions which suit his purpose he remembers well enough where we are and sends to summon us for battles and warfare as I will relate later on.

I will stop reciting grievances and the oppression to which he subjected us for it cannot now be remedied, and I will not omit to relate what Cortés said after they took the Government from him (which was when Luis Ponce de Leon came, and when Luis Ponce died he left Marcos de Aguilar as his lieutenant as I will report further on) and that is when some of us gentlemen and captains, old companions who had helped him in the conquest, went to Cortés to tell him to give up some of the many Indians that he then possessed, for His Majesty ordered some of them to be taken from him, and they had to be given up and were promptly taken from him, and the answer he gave was that they must suffer as he was suffering, but if His Majesty should again grant him

the Government, by his conscience, (for that was his [customary] oath,) he would not make the mistakes he had done in the past, but would give good allotments to those whom His Majesty should designate, and would amend the great error which he committed in the past, and with such [promise of] allotments and smooth words he thought they were contented but they went about abusing him and even cursing him and his entire family and all that he possessed, and wishing him bad luck with it, him and his daughters.

Let us leave this now and relate that at that time or a few days earlier, the Officers of His Majesty's Treasury arrived from Castile namely Alonzo de Estrada the Treasurer a native of Ciudad Real and the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar who said that he was the eldest son of Cristiano who was born in Granada and they say his ancestors came from Burgos, and Rodrigo de Albornoz also arrived, for Julian de Alderete was dead, and this Albornoz was a native of Paldinas or of Ragama. The Veedor Pedro Almíndez Chirino came, a native of Ubeda or Basca and many other persons came who had official appointments.

Let us leave this, and I wish to state that at this time one Rodrigo Rangel whom I have often mentioned before (who had not been present at the capture of Mexico, nor at any of the battles which had been fought in New Spain) so that he might gain in some repute, begged Cortés to give him a company to go and conquer the Pueblos of the Zapotecs who were at war, and that he might take Pedro de Ircio in his company to act as adviser in what was to be done. As Cortés knew that Rodrigo Rangel was not the man to be entrusted with any task because he was always ailing with great pain from boils and was very feeble and his thighs and legs were very thin, and all his body and head covered with

running sores, he refused him that expedition, saying that the Zapotec Indians were a difficult people to conquer on account of the great and lofty mountains where they lived, so that it was impossible to take horses, and that there were always fogs and mists there, and the roads were narrow and slippery and one could not walk along them unless, so to speak, with the feet of those going ahead on a level with the heads of those who came behind (this is to be understood in the way I here state it, as it is true, because those who go above and those who come behind, go head to foot) and that it was not a suitable undertaking [for him] to go against them, and if they did go they would have to take soldiers who were very active and strong and experienced in warfare.

However, as Rangel was very obstinate and came from the same country as Cortés which is Medellin, he persuaded him to grant his request, and as we afterwards learned Cortés was in favour of sending him to a place where he might die, for he had a bad tongue and said evil things. So Cortés himself wrote to Coatzacoalcos to ten or a dozen of us whom he named in the letter begging us to go with Rangel and assist him; and among the soldiers ordered to go he named me, and all of us went, that is all those settlers to whom Cortés had written.

I have already said that there are great mountains in the land inhabited by the Zapotecs and that the natives are very active and lithe people and that with certain calls and whistles which they give all the valleys resound just like echoes.

As we had to take along Rangel we could not hurry and do what we ought to do, and when we reached a pueblo we found it deserted and as the houses were not close together but one on a hill and another in a valley and it was the rainy season and poor Rangel was crying

out with pain from his boils, and we all disliked marching in his company, and seeing that it was a waste of time we feared that some disaster might happen, if by chance the Zapotecs should wait for us and face us (for they are active and have long lances, much better than ours, and they are great archers and shoot stones from slings and we could only move along the roads in single file,) and as Rangel was worse than when he started he agreed to abandon the black conquest, for black one might call it and return each one to his home. Pedro de Írcio whom he brought as adviser was the first to give this advice and he left Rangel and went off to Villa Rica where he lived and Rangel said that he wished to go with us to Coatzacoalcos as it was a warm country, to be cured of his illness, and the bad luck fell to us residents of Coatzacoalcos who were then present to carry that laggard back with us.

When we arrived at Coatzacoalcos he at once said that he wished to go and pacify the provinces of Cimatan and Talatupan[1] which (as I have already said many times in the chapter that treats of the subject) did not want to make peace because of [the protection afforded them by] the great rivers and quaking bogs among which they lived, and in addition to this stronghold of swamps they were by nature great archers and used very large bows and were excellent shots. To go back to our story, Rangel displayed in that town decrees from Hernando Cortés [to the effect] that he sent him as Captain to conquer the provinces that were at war, especially that of Cimatan and Talatupan and he summoned nearly all the settlers of the town to accompany him, and Cortés was so greatly feared that although we regretted it, we did not dare to disobey when we beheld his decrees, and over one hundred

[1] Tacotalpa?

foot soldiers and horsemen and as many as twenty-six crossbowmen and musketeers set out with Rangel.

We went by [way of] Tonalá, Ayagualulco, Copilco, and Zacualco and we crossed many rivers in canoes and rafts and we passed by Teotitan Copilco and by all the towns we called La Chontalpa which were peaceable and arrived within five leagues of Cimatan, and in some swamps and bad places there were assembled nearly all the warriors of that province and they had erected fences and great barricades of logs and thick timbers, and from within some battlements and loopholes whence they could shoot promptly they gave us such a vigorous attack of arrows and fire hardened javelins from their spear throwers that they killed seven horses and wounded more than eight soldiers and they gave Rangel himself who was on horseback an arrow wound in the left arm, but it only entered a little way.

We old Conquistadores had told Rangel that active men should always go [in advance] on foot examining the road and looking out for ambuscades, and had already said at other times that these Indians were used to fight very bravely and with cunning, but as he was a man who talked much he said, curse it all, if he had believed us that would not have happened to him, and from this time onwards that we should be the captains and should command him in the war. As soon as the soldiers were healed as well as certain horses which were wounded in addition to the seven which were killed, Rangel ordered me to go scouting ahead and to take a very fierce lurcher that belonged to him and also two soldiers and crossbowmen, and I told him to keep well back with the horsemen and that the soldiers and musketeers should go with me. On our way to the pueblo of Cimatan which was at that time well populated we met with other barricades and fortifications neither more nor less than those we had already passed,

and they let fly at us who were going ahead such [a number of] arrows and javelins that they promptly killed the lurcher and but for my thick armour I should have fallen there, for seven arrows were hanging from me checked [from piercing me] by the thick wadding of my armour, however, even so I came out wounded in one foot, and all my companions were wounded.

Then I cried out to some friendly Indians who were a little way behind [to tell] the musketeers, crossbowmen and foot soldiers to come at once to our assistance, but the horsemen to stay behind for they could not gallop there nor make any use of their horses and they would have been shot with arrows. And they soon came to my support as I had sent to tell them, for before I had gone on ahead it had all been so arranged that the horsemen should keep well back and that all the others should be on the alert for a signal or order. When the crossbowmen and musketeers came up we drove the enemy from the barricades and they took refuge in some great quaking swamps, and no one could enter them and get out again except on all fours or with much assistance.

At this time Rangel arrived with the horsemen and [as] there were many houses round about abandoned by their owners we rested [there] that day and treated the wounded. The next day we marched on the way to the pueblo of Cimatan and there were great level savannahs, and in the middle of the savannahs most horrible swamps, and in one of them the enemy waited for us, and it was with cunning that they agreed among themselves to await us in the open field of the savannahs, and they foresaw that, in their greediness to overtake them and spear them, the horsemen would come galloping after them full tilt, and would stick in the mud of the swamp, and it happened just as they had planned in spite of all we had told and advised Rangel that he should be on the

look out as there were many swamps, and that he should not gallop over the savannahs with loose reign, for the horses would stick in the mud and that these Indians were known to use these stratagems and make fortifications and places to shoot from near to the swamps, but he would not believe it. The first to get stuck in the swamp was Rangel himself, and his horse was killed [and they would have captured him] if he had not been promptly rescued, for many Indians had thrown themselves into those dangerous swamps in order to seize him and carry him off alive to be sacrificed. However he came out with the ulcers on his head scarified.

As all that province was thickly peopled we went to another small pueblo close by and the inhabitants fled from it, and there we doctored Rangel and the three soldiers who were wounded, and thence we went to some other houses, also without inhabitants for their owners at once deserted them, and we found another fortification well fenced with great baulks of timber and loopholes for arrows, and we had not rested more than a quarter of an hour when so great a number of Cimatec warriors came and surrounded us in the pueblo that they killed one soldier and two horses, and we barely succeeded in driving them off.

At that time our Rangel was suffering greatly from his head and there were many mosquitos so that he could sleep neither by night nor day and huge bats which bit him and sucked his blood. It was always raining, and as some of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile, whom Rangel had brought with him, saw that the Indians of that province had already made a stand against us in three places and had killed eleven horses and two soldiers and wounded many others, they advised Rangel to turn back for it was a very poor country and full of swamps, and Rangel was anxious to do so, but

in order that the retreat should not appear to be of his own free will and wish, but on account of the advice of the majority, he determined to call a council to consider it, [composed] of persons who were of his way of thinking so that the retreat should take place.

At that moment twenty of us soldiers had gone out to see whether we could capture some people in the neighbouring cacao groves and we brought back two Indian men and three women. Then Rangel called me aside and consulted me and spoke of his headache and how the other soldiers had advised him to turn back, and told me all that had happened. Then I censured him about the retreat and said to him "what will they say of your Honour being so near to the pueblo of Cimatan and wishing to turn back? Cortés will not be pleased at it, and evil disposed persons who wish you ill will throw it in your face that neither in the expedition against the Zapotecs nor in this one have you achieved a single good result although you were accompanied by such fine conquistadores, namely, the men of our town of Coatzacoalcos. In so far as our honour and that of Your Excellency is concerned I and other soldiers are of opinion that we should go forward, and I and my companions will go on ahead examining the swamps and forests and with the crossbowmen and musketeers we will go to the Capital of Cimatan, and your Honour can give my horse to some other gentleman who is expert with a lance and has the courage to manage him, for he is of no use to me in what I am doing, and he can come behind with the horsemen."

When Rodrigo Rangel heard this from me as he was a loud voiced man and a great talker he came out from the hut where [he had] been holding council and in a loud voice called together all the soldiers and said "the die is cast that we are to go ahead curse it all

(for this was always his way of swearing and talking) if Bernal Díaz del Castillo has told me the truth it is what suits all of you," and although some soldiers were sorry for it, others thought it right, and we at once began our march with the crossbowmen and musketeers in good order close by me, and the horsemen in the rear on account of the forest and swamps where horses could not gallop, until we reached another pueblo which the natives abandoned. Thence we went to the capital of Cimatan and went through another affray of arrows and javelins, but we soon put the enemy to flight and the native dwellers in that pueblo set fire to many of their houses, and there we captured fifteen men and women, and sent the women to bid the Cimatecs to make peace and we would pardon them for the warfare, and the relations and husbands of the women and common folk whom we held as prisoners came and we gave them up all the spoil, and they said that they would bring the whole pueblo to peace, but they never returned with an answer. Then Rangel said to me "Curse it all, but you have deceived me and you must make an expedition with other companions and find me as many Indian men and women as those you have made me release through your advice."

So fifty of us soldiers with myself as Captain promptly set out and we came on some ranchos placed among quaking bogs which we did not dare to enter, whence [the inhabitants] fled through some great thickets and thorn brakes which they call among themselves Xihuaquetlan, which are very dangerous and pierce one's feet, and in some cacao groves we captured six men and women with their little children and we returned to our Captain and with this we appeased him, and he again set the prisoners free so that they should summon the Cimatecs to make peace, and in

spite of persuasion they would not come, and we resolved to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos.

So ended the expeditions against the Zapotecs and against the people of Cimatan, and this is the report which should have been made of Rangel when he begged this conquest of Cortés.

I wish to relate some things which Rangel did on the march for they are laughable; when they were in the Zapotec mountains, it appears that one of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile made him angry, and Rangel said and swore "Curse it all, he must be tied to a whipping post", and he said, "is there no knave to lend a hand and help me to tie him"? There was a soldier there who now lives in Oaxaca named Hernando de Aguilar and as he was a simple-minded man he said "I want to get away from here, don't ask me to lend a hand," and Rangel laughed so much at this that he promptly pardoned the soldier who had angered him on account of what Aguilar said. Another time a horse broke away from a soldier named Salazar and he could not catch it and Rangel said, "let one of the greatest rogues and swindlers that have come with us help him to catch it," and there came a gentleman, a person of quality, who did not understand what Rangel said and captured the horse, and it sent Rangel into fits of laughter and we were all made to laugh at the things that he said. There was a dispute between two soldiers about a tribute of cacao given to one of them by a small pueblo which Cortés had assigned to them and which they held in partnership between them, and although the partners did not wish it, Rangel made them cast lots [to decide] who should have the pueblo. And he did and said other things which were subjects for laughter rather than for description.

Gonzalo de Ocampo said of this Rodrigo Rangel that

on account of the oaths and imprecations that he swore and things he said, that they examined them in Castile in the Holy Office. I did not wish to write a chapter by itself about this Captaincy which they gave to this Rodrigo Rangel for we did no good for lack of time, and above all, because the Captain was so ill and not able to keep his feet.

Two years afterwards or a little later we returned in earnest to the Zapotecs and the other provinces and conquered them and brought them to peace, which I will relate further on. Let us leave this and tell how Cortés sent to His Majesty in Castile over eighty thousand pesos de oro by the hands of Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I think by one Ribero the one-eyed, who was his Secretary, and then he sent the very valuable gun made of low-grade gold and silver which they called the bird Phœnix, and he also sent to his father Martin Cortés many thousands of pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXX.

How Captain Hernando Cortés sent to Castile to His Majesty eighty thousand pesos in gold and silver and sent a cannon which was a culverin very richly adorned with many figures all over it and the greater part of it consisted of low-grade gold mixed with silver from Michoacan, and the name given to it was the Phœnix; he also sent to his father Martin Cortés over five thousand pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

As Cortés had collected and got together a matter of eighty thousand pesos de oro, and the forging of the culverin called the Phœnix was finished and resulted in a cannon of excellent quality for presentation to such an

exalted Emperor as our great Cæsar as an inscription engraved on the culverin itself stated:

Aquesta, ave, nació, sin par Yo en serviros sin segundo y Vos sin ygual en el mundo	This bird born without an equal, I second to none in serving you, Your Highness without equal in the world.

Cortés sent it all to His Majesty by a gentleman named Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I cannot remember clearly if a certain Juan de Ribera, who had been secretary to Cortés and who was blind of one eye, which had a film over it, went at that time.

What I felt about Ribera was that he was a bad lot[1] for when he played at cards or dice it did not seem that he played fair, and in addition to this he had many bad qualities and I state this because when he arrived in Castile he went off with the pesos de oro which Cortés gave him for his father Martin Cortés. And because Martin Cortés demanded it [the money] of him Ribera being naturally of evil disposition instead of speaking well of his master [as he should have done] considering the favours that Cortés when a poor man had conferred on him, he said so many evil things and argued in such a way, that as he had great power of expression and had been the Secretary of Cortés himself, he gained credit especially with the Bishop of Burgos as well as with Narvaez, so often mentioned by me, and Cristóbal de Tápia and the Proctors of Diego Velásquez and others who assisted them. And as the death of Francisco de Garay had happened at that time, they all joined in making many complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, so numerous and in such a manner, that His Majesty believed that the judges he had appointed had shown partiality for Cortés on account of gifts he had

[1] Mala yerba.

sent them for that purpose, and the judgment was again reversed and Cortés in such disfavour that had it not been for the Duque de Bejar who took his part and guaranteed that if His Majesty would send and take his Residencia he would not find him guilty [all would have been lost.] The Duke acted thus because a marriage was already being arranged between Cortés and his niece, a lady named Doña Juana de Zuñiga, the daughter of Don Carlos de Arrellano, Conde de Aguilar, and sister of some noblemen and favorites of the Emperor. At that time the eighty thousand[1] pesos de oro arrived and the letter from Cortés giving many thanks to His Majesty, and containing many promises on account of the great favour he had shown to him in giving him the Government of Mexico, and in having been pleased to order that he should be treated with justice in the decision which he gave in his favour at the time of the commission which he ordered to be appointed from among gentlemen of His Royal Council and Cabinet, as has often been mentioned by me before. As the result of further consideration all that had been alleged against Cortés tended to change the intention of having his "Residencia" taken, and nothing more was then said about it.

Let us stop talking about these clouds which were already threatening to burst over Cortés and let us speak of the cannon. When its inscription, in which Cortés described himself as so exalted a servant, became known at court, certain Dukes, Marquises and Counts and men of great importance who looked upon themselves as fully as distinguished servants of His Majesty, and bore in mind that other gentlemen had served the Royal Crown quite as well as they had, began to grumble about the

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[1] Blotted out in the original "fifty, sixty, seventy."

cannon and about Cortés because he had written such a motto. I also know that other great noblemen such as the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Conde de Aguilar said to these same gentlemen who had begun the discussion that the inscription on the Culverin was very plucky and they were not surprised at Cortés putting that motto on the cannon, for what Captain could we see in our time who had [accomplished] such exploits and had gained so many lands without expense to or assistance from His Majesty, and had converted such great numbers of people to our Holy Faith? In addition to this not only he but his soldiers and companions who aided him to capture such a strong city with so many inhabitants and so extensive a territory were worthy the bestowal of many favours by His Majesty, "for if we reflect, it is from our ancestors who performed heroic deeds and served the Royal Crown and the Kings that reigned in their day, as Cortés and his companions have now done, that we inherit our coats of arms our lands and rents," and with these words the matter of the inscription was forgotten. In order that the culverin should not leave Seville, we heard the news that His Majesty presented it to Don Francisco de los Cobos Comendador Mayor de Leon and that they melted it down and refined the gold and smelted it in Seville, and they say that it was worth over twenty thousand ducats. At the time when Cortés sent this gold and the cannon, having sent on the first occasion the treasure including the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun and many other golden jewels by Francisco de Montejo and Alonzo Hernández Puerto Carrero, and also on the second occasion with Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones the richest treasure ever found in New Spain, for it was the household furniture of Montezuma and Guatemoc and the Great Chieftains of Mexico, (and this was stolen by

Juan Florin), all this became known in Castile and Cortés won great fame both in Castile and in other parts of Christendom, and was everywhere greatly praised.

Let us leave this and relate how the suit ended between Martin Cortés and Ribera over the many thousands of pesos which Cortés sent to his father, and it was thus,[1]—while the suit was in progress Ribera was passing through the Town of the booths[2] and he lunched there and ate a rasher of bacon and while he was eating it he died suddenly and without confession. — God forgive him, Amen.

Let us leave the events in Castile and return to speak of New Spain, how Cortés was always engaged in endeavours to people the city with native Mexicans as it had been formerly peopled, and gave them freedom and liberty not to pay tribute to His Majesty until they had built their houses and repaired the causeways and bridges and all the buildings and pipes by which the water had formerly come from Chapultepec to enter Mexico, and in the Spanish quarter he had churches, hospitals and dockyards built and other things that were necessary.

At that time there arrived from Castile at the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars with their Vicar General, a very good ecclesiastic named Fray Martin de Valencia a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and this very reverend ecclesiastic was nominated by the Holy Father as Vicar, and about his arrival and the reception given him I will speak further on.

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[1] Blotted out in the original { "que el que con mal anda en peor acaba." / "he who begins badly ends worse."

[2] Villa del Cadahalso in the text.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

How there came to the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars, men of very holy lives, and there came as their vicar and guardian Fray Martin de Valencia, a priest so pure that he had the reputation of working miracles. He was a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and about what Cortés did on their arrival.

I HAVE already stated in former chapters which treat of the subject how we had written to His Majesty asking him to send us Franciscan Friars of good and holy lives to help us in the conversion and in teaching the natives of this land the holy doctrines so as to make them Christians, and to preach our holy faith, as we had explained it to them ever since we entered New Spain. Cortés together with us conquistadores who had won New Spain had written about it to Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles, who was general of the Franciscan Order and was afterwards Cardinal, [begging him] to do us the favour to send us friars of holy life so that our holy faith might always be exalted and the natives of these lands might understand what we told them at the time when we were fighting against them, namely that His Majesty would send friars of much better mode of living than ours to teach them the arguments and sermons which we had told them were true; and the General Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles did us the favour promptly to send twelve friars as I have related. Among them came Fray Toribio Motolinia, and the Caciques and lords of Mexico gave him this name of Motolinia which, in their language, means "the poor friar" because whatever was given to him in the name of God he gave to the Indians, so that he sometimes went without food, and wore a ragged habit and walked barefoot, and

always preached to the Indians who loved him greatly for he was a holy man.

To go back to our story, when Cortés knew that they were at the Port of Vera Cruz he ordered all the Indian pueblos as well as the Spanish settlements that, whichever way they came, the roads should be swept, and wherever they halted, even in the open country, ranchos should be built for them, and that when they reached the towns or pueblos of the Indians they should go out to meet them and should ring the bells, (which at that time they had in each pueblo) and that all without exception after they had received them should pay them great reverence and that the natives should carry lighted wax candles and the crosses they possessed—and he ordered the Spaniards with all humility, to fall on their knees and kiss their hands and garments, (so that the Indians might observe it and follow their example) and moreover Cortés sent off plentiful supplies along the road and wrote to the Friars very affectionately. As they came on their way, when they arrived near to Mexico Cortés himself accompanied by us courageous and valiant soldiers went out to receive them, and together with us went Guatemoc the lord of Mexico with all the principal Mexicans there were, and many other Caciques from other cities. When Cortés knew that the Friars were approaching he dismounted from his horse, as did all of us, and when we met the reverend friars the first to fall on his knees before Fray Martin de Valencia and to kiss his hands was Cortés himself, and the Friar would not permit it, so he kissed his garments and those of all the other ecclesiastics and so did nearly all the captains and soldiers who were present and Guatemoc and the Mexican chieftains. When Guatemoc and the other caciques saw Cortés go down on his knees to kiss hands they were greatly astonished, and when they saw that the friars were bare-

foot and thin and their garments ragged, and that they had no horses but came on foot and were very jaundiced looking, and [then] turned to Cortés, whom they looked on as an Idol or one of their Gods, on his knees before the friars, all the Indians from that time forward followed his example, and now when friars arrive they give them a reception and pay them reverence in the way I have described; moreover I say that when Cortés conversed with those ecclesiastics he always doffed his cap and held it in his hand and in all ways paid them great respect, and certainly those good Franciscan Friars did much to the advantage of all New Spain. Three years and a half afterwards, or a little earlier, twelve Dominican Friars arrived, and there came as their Provincial or Prior a friar named Fray Tomas Ortiz who was a Biscayan, and they said he had been Prior or Provincial in a country called Las Puntas, and it pleased God that when they arrived they fell ill of sleeping sickness[1] and most of them died. I will relate later on, when and with whom they came and the rank which they say the Prior held and other things that happened and how many other good priests came here belonging to the same order of St. Dominic, men of holy life, who impressed by this grand example, are very holy and have successfully instructed the natives of this province of Guatemala in our holy faith and have been very helpful to all.

I wish to leave this holy matter of the friars and state that as Cortés was always in fear that in Castile the proctors of Diego Velásquez governor of Cuba, instigated by the Bishop of Burgos, would again come together and speak evil of him before our Lord the Emperor, and as he had trustworthy news by letters which his father Martin Cortés and Diego de Ordas sent to him, that they were

[1] Mal de Modorra.

arranging a marriage [for him] with the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the niece of Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, Duque de Bejar, he endeavoured to send all the pesos [he could collect] from the whole country, on the one hand in order that the Duque de Bejar might know of his great riches as well as his heroic deeds and great exploits, but more especially in order that His Majesty might befriend him and grant him favours, so then he sent His Majesty thirty thousand pesos and wrote to him what I shall go on to state.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

How Cortés wrote to His Majesty and sent him thirty thousand pesos de oro and told him how he was devoting himself to the conversion of the Indians and the rebuilding of Mexico, and how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid with a strong fleet to pacify the provinces of Honduras and that he (Olid) had risen in rebellion with it, and he reported other things which had happened in Mexico. In the ship which sailed with the letters the Accountant named Rodrigo de Albornoz sent other very secret letters and said in them many evil things of Cortés and all those who went out with him, and what His Majesty decreed about it.

CORTÉS being now established in the government of New Spain by the command of His Majesty, it seemed to him that it would be well to inform him how he was attending to the conversion of the natives and the rebuilding of the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico. He also reported how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid to make a settlement in some provinces called Honduras and had given him five ships well provisioned and a strong force of soldiers and supplies and many horses, and cannon, and musketeers and crossbowmen and all sorts

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[1] Tenustitlan in the text.

of arms, and that he had spent many thousands of pesos de oro in fitting out the fleet—and Cristóbal de Olid had revolted with all of it, and he who advised him to rise in rebellion was Diego Velásquez, the governor of Cuba, who had gone shares with him [Olid] in the fleet. If his Majesty approved, he was determined shortly to send another Captain to capture this same fleet and take him [Olid] prisoner, or to go himself, for if this act remained unpunished other captains would venture to rebel with other fleets which he was obliged to send to conquer and settle lands which were at war with him. For this reason he begged His Majesty that he would grant permission for it. He also sent to complain of Diego Velásquez not only on account of the affair of Captain Cristóbal de Olid but because of his plots and offences in letters sent from the Island of Cuba to the effect that they should kill Cortés. This was the reason why, when he set out from that city of Mexico to conquer certain strong pueblos which had risen in arms, and the partizans of Diego Velásquez made plots to kill him and seize the government, he had executed sentence on one of the most guilty. And it was the Bishop of Burgos President of the Indies, who did him this favour by being a friend of Diego Velásquez.

He also wrote to say how he was ordering to be paid [to His Majesty] thirty thousand pesos de oro and that but for the late sedition and plots that he would have collected much more gold, and that with God's help and some luck he would send all he was able in all the ships sailing from Mexico to His Royal Majesty. So also he wrote to his father Martin Cortés and to one of his relations called the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez who was a reporter of the Royal Council of His Majesty; he also wrote to Diego de Ordas and made clear to them all what I have already related. He also gave

information how one Rodrigo de Albornoz, an accountant, was going about secretly in Mexico grumbling against Cortés because he did not give him the Indians he wanted, and [refused him] the Cacica he asked for, the daughter of the Lord of Texcoco, whom he [Cortés] would not give him because at that time he gave her in marriage to a person of quality. Moreover he [Cortés] told them that he [Rodrigo de Albornoz] had been Secretary of State of Flanders and was a follower of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, and was a man who was accustomed to retail news even by means of ciphers, and that possibly he might write to the Bishop, as he was President of the Council of the Indies, things that were not true (for at that time we did not know that they had deprived the Bishop of his office) so that he should have notice of everything. He sent these letters in duplicate for he was always in fear that the Bishop of Burgos as President had given orders to Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan Lópes de Recalte, officers of the custom house at Seville that all the letters and despatches from Cortés should be sent to him post haste so that he could know what was in them, (for at that time His Majesty had come from Flanders and was in Castile) in order to report to His Majesty and score first before our proctors could deliver Cortés's letters, for we did not yet know in New Spain that they had deprived the Bishop of his office of President.

Let us leave the letters and I will say that in the same ship in which the parcel of letters was sent, the Accountant Albornoz mentioned by me sent other letters to His Majesty and to the Bishop of Burgos and to the Royal Council of the Indies, and what he said to them by way of accusation was to reiterate all the suits and affairs which Cortés had been accused of before, when His Majesty ordered judges to be appointed from the

gentlemen of his Royal Council, already named by me in the Chapter which treats of the subject, when as a verdict on the case they pronounced us to be very loyal servants of His Majesty. In addition to those charges they now wrote this new one that Cortés demanded of all the Caciques of New Spain many ingots of gold and ordered them to get gold from the mines, and this Cortés said was to be sent to His Majesty, but he kept it and did not send it to His Majesty; and that he had built some strongly fortified houses, and had got together many daughters of Lords to marry them to Spaniards, for honest men to ask them of him as wives, and he refused to give them to them as mistresses. And he said that all the Caciques and notables held him in as great esteem as though he were King, and in this land they know of no other King or Lord than Cortés, and like a King he exacted his fifths, and he has a great number of golden ingots stored in his treasury, and he [Albornoz] has not made sure whether personally he is a rebel or loyal, and there was need that His Majesty should promptly order some nobleman with a great number of soldiers to come to these parts to deprive him [Cortés] of his command and lordship; and he wrote other things on this subject. However I will not go into further particulars about the contents of the letters but will state that they went into the hands of the Bishop of Burgos who resided in Toro. As Pánfilo de Narvaez was then at court as well as Cristóbal de Tápia already mentioned by me, and all the proctors of Diego Velásquez, they advised the Archbishop again to lay complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, including all that he had related previously, and they said that the Judges whom His Majesty appointed showed partiality for Cortés on account of the gifts he had made to them and that His Majesty should deign to see what

the Accountant, his own officer, had now newly written and as evidence of this they presented the letters.

When His Majesty took into consideration the letters, and the statements and complaints which Narvaez pronounced so haughtily, for that was his manner of speaking when he demanded justice, he believed them to be true and the Bishop seconded with other letters to support them. His Majesty then said "I wish to send and punish Cortés, as they speak so much evil of what he does, and although he should send more gold, there is greater riches in doing justice than in all the treasure he can send." And he decreed that the Admiral of Santo Domingo should be despatched at the expense of Cortés with two hundred soldiers and if he should find him [Cortés] to be guilty he should cut off his head and punish all those of us who defeated Narvaez. To induce the Admiral to go, they had promised him the post of Admiral of New Spain and at that time disputes arose at Court about it. After all the instructions had been completed, it appears that the Admiral tarried some days and did not dare to come because he had no money, and also because they advised him to beware of the good fortune of Cortés, for although Narvaez had brought such a large army Cortés had defeated him, and he would be risking his life and position, and he had better not carry out the order, especially as no fault could be found with Cortés nor in any of his companions but great loyalty. In addition to this it seems that they told His Majesty that it was too much to give the post of Admiral of New Spain for the small service which he would be able to do by the journey on which he was sending him. While the Admiral was getting ready to start, the Proctors of Cortés and his father Martin Cortés and a Friar named Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea got to know about it, and as they had the letters which Cortés

had sent them in duplicate and understood from them that the Accountant Albornoz was playing double, they all went together to the Duque de Bejar and gave him an account of all I have related above and showed him the letter from Cortés. When the Duke knew that they were sending off the Admiral with many soldiers so suddenly he was greatly concerned at it, for it had already been arranged to marry Cortés to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the Duke's niece, and promptly without further delay he went into the presence of His Majesty accompanied by certain Counts his relations, and with them went the old Martin Cortés father of Cortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, and when they arrived before our Lord the Emperor they humbled themselves and paid all the reverence which they ought to pay to our Lord and King. And the Duke himself spoke and begged His Majesty not to give ear to the letter of such a man as Albornoz who was very hostile to Cortés, until he had received other trustworthy and credible evidence, and not to despatch a fleet. Moreover he said that His Majesty being such a good Christian for doing rightful justice with great deliberation, [yet] he was sending to capture Cortés and his soldiers who had done good and loyal service such as no others in the world had done, nor could there be found in any histories accounts of vassals who had done so much for the Kings of past times, and that already he had once pledged his head for Cortés and his soldiers who were very loyal and would be so in the future, and that now he would again pledge himself and all his estate that they would always remain loyal as His Majesty would see later on, and in addition to this he showed him the letters Cortés had sent to his father in which he gave the reason why the Accountant was writing evil things against him, Cortés, which as I have already stated was because he had not

given him good Indians, such as he demanded as well as the daughter of a Cacique. Moreover the Duke told His Majesty that he should note the number of times Cortés had sent him a great quantity of gold, and he made many other excuses for Cortés, and His Majesty seeing that Cortés and all of us clearly had right on our side, decreed that a person who was a gentleman of position and knowledge and one who feared God should go to take his Residencia. At that time there was at the Court in Toledo as the assistant Corregidor of the Conde de Alcaudete a gentleman called the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon a cousin of the Count Don Martin de Córdova himself, for so he was called for at that time he was Corregidor of that City. His Majesty sent to summon this Licentiate Luis Ponce and ordered him to go at once to New Spain and take the Residencia of Cortés, and if he was guilty of any of the things of which they accused him to punish him with rigorous justice. The Licentiate replied that he would carry out the Royal Command, and began to get ready for his journey, but he did not come in great haste for he delayed his arrival in New Spain more than two years.

Let us leave them here, both the partisans of Diego Velásquez who brought charges against Cortés as well as the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon who was preparing for his voyage.

Although it is outside my story reaching far ahead, what I shall now say is that at the end of two years we came to know all that I have here related about the letters of Albornoz. Moreover interested readers should know how this same Albornoz was always in the habit of writing to His Majesty about things that never happened, as must be well known to persons who have been in New Spain and the City of Mexico at the time when Don Antonio de Mendoza was Viceroy of Mexico, who was an illustrious

man worthy of being well remembered (may he rest in glory) and who governed most fairly and with such impartial justice. Yet this Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote to His Majesty evil things about his government, and the very letters he sent to the Court, returned to New Spain to the hands of this same Viceroy, and as soon as he understood them he sent to summon Rodrigo de Albernoz and with very leisurely words, for that was his way of speaking, the Viceroy showed him the letters and said to him "As you are in the habit of writing to His Majesty, write the truth and get you gone" and the Contador was very much ashamed and confounded.[1]

Let us stop talking of this matter and I will state how Cortés, not knowing at that time all that had happened at Court and how they had worked against him, sent a fleet to Honduras against Cristóbal de Olid and what happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

How when Cortés learnt that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet and had entered into partnership with Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he sent against him a Captain named Francisco de Las Casas, and what happened to him I will go on to relate.

I MUST go a long way back in my story so as to be clearly understood. I have already related in the Chapter that treats of the matter how Cortés sent Cristóbal de Olid

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[1] Blotted out in the original :—

"A certain Gonzalo de Campo whom I have frequently mentioned before, the composer of defamatory libels as I have said on former occasions, who knew the disposition of Albornoz, stated in his libel 'Fray Zarzapelete': Beware of Fray Rodrigo de Albornoz, but not because he is a savage who never kept a secret ; a good preacher had well informed me that he was a bad visitor and a very double dealing fox."

with a fleet to Honduras and how he rose in revolt. When Cortés realized that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet with the support of Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he became very thoughtful, but as he was high spirited and did not permit such matters to get the better of him besides he had already reported to His Majesty, (as I have stated) in the letter he wrote, that he intended to go himself or send other Captains against Cristóbal de Olid. About that time a gentleman named Francisco de Las Casas had come from Castile to Mexico, a trustworthy person and a relative of Cortés, whom he decided to send against Cristóbal de Olid with five ships well armed with cannon and provisioned and one hundred soldiers, and among them some of the Conquistadores of Mexico, those whom Cortés had brought in his company from the Island of Cuba, namely one Pedro Moreno Medrano, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado, Juan Bello and others who died on the voyage whom I do not name here so as to avoid prolixity.

When Francisco de Las Casas had been despatched with ample authority and orders to capture Cristóbal de Olid, he set out from the port of Vera Cruz with his ships well found and swift sailing, and his banners bearing the royal Arms, and with good weather he reached a bay called El Triunfo de la Cruz, where Cristóbal de Olid kept his fleet, and near by had founded a town called Triunfo de la Cruz, as I have already stated in the Chapter that treats of it.

When Cristóbal de Olid saw those ships anchored in the port, although Francisco de Las Casas as soon as he arrived ordered flags of truce to be hoisted, Cristóbal de Olid did not feel certain about it, on the contrary he ordered two caravels well armed with cannon and many soldiers to be got ready and he guarded the port so that they could not land.

As soon as Las Casas saw that, as he was a spirited man, he ordered his boats to be got out and launched in the sea with many men well armed with some falconets, muskets and crossbows, and he went with them thinking one way or the other to get ashore, and Cristóbal de Olid in order to prevent it fought a good fight in the sea, and the boat of Las Casas sank one of the caravels of the enemy and killed four soldiers and wounded others. However Cristóbal de Olid reflected that he had not all of his soldiers there, for a few days before he had sent them in two companies to follow up a river called Pechin and to capture another Captain named Gil Gonzales de Ávila who was conquering that province, for the river Pechin was within the government of the Golfo Dulce, and he was hourly expecting his people to arrive. So Cristobal de Olid decided to ask the favour of peace of Francisco de Las Casas, for Cristóbal de Olid firmly believed that if he should come ashore they would come to blows, and as he had not got his soldiers near by he asked for peace. Las Casas decided to stay that night on board his ships at sea away from the land, either anchored or lying to, with the intention of going to another bay to disembark, for when they were skirmishing and fighting certain soldiers, partisans of Cortés, who were with Cristóbal de Olid secretly gave Las Casas a letter to say they would aid him, and that he must not fail to come by land to capture Cristóbal de Olid.

This agreement having been made, such was the luck of Cristóbal de Olid and the misfortune of Las Casas, that on that night a strong northerly gale arose and as it is a foul wind on that coast the ships of Francisco de Las Casas were driven ashore so that he lost all he had brought with him. Thirty soldiers were drowned and all

the others were taken prisoners, and they were two days without food and wet through with salt water, and at that time it rained heavily and they suffered hardship and cold. Cristóbal de Olid was joyful and triumphant at holding Francisco de Las Casas a prisoner and the other soldiers whom he had captured, and presently he made them swear that they would always be on his side and against Cortés if he should come to that land in person. As soon as they had taken the oath he freed them from prison and held only Francisco de Las Casas prisoner. After a few days his captains arrived whom he had sent to seize Gil Gonzales de Ávila. It appears that Gil Gonzales had come as Governor and Captain of the Golfo Dulce and had founded a town which they called San Gil de Buena Vista which was about a league from the port which they now call Golfo Dulce, for the river Pechin at that time was settled with good pueblos. Gil Gonzales had only a few soldiers with him for most of the rest had sickened and this same town of Buena Vista had been garrisoned with other soldiers. As soon as Cristóbal de Olid had news of it, he sent to have them taken, and as they would not allow themselves to be captured, eight soldiers followers of Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and his nephew named Gil de Ávila, were killed. When Cristóbal de Olid found himself with two prisoners who were Captains he was very cheerful and contented, and as he had a reputation for valor and certainly was personally brave, in order that it should be known throughout the Islands, he wrote to his friend Diego Velásquez, and then went from Triunfo de la Cruz inland to a good pueblo which at that time had a large population, (and there were many other pueblos in that neighbourhood) and this pueblo was called Naco which is now destroyed, as well as all the others, and this I state because I saw it and

was myself in it and in San Gil de Buena Vista and on the river Pechin and the Rio de Baama, and I was there at the time when I went with Cortés as I will relate more fully in its proper time and place.

To go back to my story. Cristóbal de Olid was already stationed at Naco with his prisoners and a large company of soldiers and thence he despatched expeditions to other parts and sent as Captain one Briones, mentioned by me before, and this Briones was one of the first to counsel Cristóbal de Olid to revolt. He himself was a turbulent man, and had had the lower lobes of his ears cut off. Briones himself said that they had been cut off when he was a soldier in a fortress because he would not surrender, neither he nor other captains. This same Briones was afterwards hanged in Guatemala as a mutineer and inciter to rebellion in the army.

To go back to my story, when this Briones set off with a large company of soldiers, a rumour arose in the Camp of Cristóbal de Olid that Briones with all the soldiers that he had in his company had revolted and were going off to New Spain, and it turned out to be true. When they knew this, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila who were prisoners thought the time was ripe to kill Cristóbal de Olid, and as they went about free without fetters because he considered them of no importance (for Cristóbal de Olid thought himself to be very powerful), they arranged with the soldiers and friends of Cortés that when they cried, "Here for the King and for Cortés in the King's name against this tyrant" they should stab him. As soon as this plan was made Francisco de Las Casas laughing and joking said to Cristóbal de Olid "Señor Capitan, let me free to go to New Spain to speak to Cortés and tell him the reason of my defeat, and I will be a mediator so that

your honour may retain this government and its captaincy, for look you, it is your own doing, my imprisonment does you no good, on the other hand it checks you in your conquests." Cristóbal de Olid replied that it seemed to him all right as it was and that he was delighted to have the company of such a valiant man. When Francisco de Las Casas heard that, he said "Then look out well for yourself, for one day or another I must endeavour to kill you" and this he said to him half in joke and laughing, and Cristóbal de Olid made no reply to what he said, and took it as a joke. The plot I have mentioned had been made with the friends of Cortés, and when they were supping at a table, and the cloth had been removed and the attendants and pages had gone to their supper, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado and other soldiers who were partizans of Cortés and were in the plot stood around, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila (who had each concealed a scriveners knife as sharp as a razor, for they were not allowed to carry arms,) as they stood talking to Cristóbal de Olid about the Conquest of Mexico and the good fortune of Cortés, (and Cristóbal de Olid was quite unsuspicious of what was coming to him,) Francisco de Las Casas seized his beard and struck him in the throat with the blade which he carried shaped like a clasp knife for that purpose, and together with Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and the soldiers of Cortés they quickly gave him so many wounds that he could not defend himself, but as he was very vigorous and impetuous and of great [personal] strength he slipped through their hands shouting "To me, my friends" but as they were all at supper, or his luck was so bad that they did not come quickly enough, he took to flight and hid himself in a thicket believing that his partisans would come to his assistance, and although many of them did come quickly to help him, Francisco de

Las Casas was shouting and crying "To me those for Cortés and the King against this Tyrant, for we can no longer endure his tyranny." Then when they heard the name of His Majesty and of Cortés none of those who came to support the cause of Cristóbal de Olid dared to defend him, on the contrary Las Casas promptly ordered them to be seized, and as soon as this was done proclamation was made that whoever might know where Cristóbal de Olid was hidden and did not disclose it would suffer death for it. It was soon known where he was hidden and they captured him, and a charge was brought against him and in accordance with the sentence pronounced by the two Captains he was beheaded in the Plaza at Naco. Thus he died because he rebelled, for he followed bad counsellors and although a very valiant man he did not remember that Cortés had made him his Maestre de Campo and had given him very good Indians; he was married to a Portuguese lady named Philipa de Arauz and had a daughter. Because in a former chapter I have already spoken of the height and the features of Cristóbal de Olid, and of the country he belonged to, and the rank he held, I will say no more here. But as soon as Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila found themselves free from their dead enemy, they assembled their soldiers and as both were true captains, Las Casas formed a settlement at Trujillo, and called it by that name because he was a native of Trujillo in Estremadura, and Gil Gonzales sent messengers to San Gil de Buena Vista, which he had founded, to let the people know what had happened and to order his lieutenant named Armenta to preserve the settlement as he had left it and not to embark on any new enterprise because he [Gil Gonzales] was going to New Spain to beg for help and a reinforcement of soldiers from Cortés and he would soon return.

When all that I have stated was settled it was arranged between the two captains that they should go to Mexico to inform Cortés of all that had happened, and I will leave off here until the proper time and place and will relate what Cortés arranged [meanwhile], without knowing anything of what had happened in Naco as detailed above.

APPENDIX.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF MEXICO.

In compiling a Diary of the Siege many difficulties are met with. Neither Cortés nor Bernal Díaz are accurate in the matter of dates, and they not only contradict one another but often contradict themselves.

In the year 1521 Easter fell on the 31st March.

One point on which both are agreed is that the division of the forces and the announcement of the commands was made on the second day of the feast of Espiritu Santo, which feast in the year 1521 fell on Sunday, 19th May. The second day of the feast would therefore be the 20th May, and Bernal Díaz says that the companies of Alvarado and Olid had orders to start on the day following (21st May), but on account of the defection and execution of Xicotencatl (of which Cortés makes no mention) that their departure was delayed until the next day (22nd May). Nevertheless, Bernal Díaz says the companies of Alvarado started on the 13th May, and Cortés gives the date as the 10th May.

Then, again, Bernal Díaz, twice over, mentions ninety-three days as the length of the siege. The siege, we know for certain, ended on the 13th August, so that to make up ninety-three days he must have begun his count on the 13th May.

It is impossible to reconcile these various statements, and in the following Diary the departure of Alvarado and Olid from Texcoco is assumed to have taken place on the 22nd May, as that date fits in best with the events that follow.

The next certain date is (31st May) "Friday, the day after the feast of Corpus Christi," on which day Cortés says that Sandoval left Texcoco for Iztapalapa, and he himself embarked in the sloops and fought a battle on the lake.

The disaster to the Spaniards, when so many of the soldiers were captured alive and dragged off to be sacrificed to Huitzilopochtli, may, with some certainty, be dated Sunday, 31st June. In July, the mention by Cortés of the Feast of Santiago, enables some dates to be fixed, and San Hipolito's day, 13th August, is definitely given both by Cortés and Bernal Díaz as the date of the capture of Guatemoc and the termination of the siege.

Between these fixed points the dates of the different events can only be approximated from such indications as "after having heard Mass" (probably a Sunday or Feast day), "already more than forty-five days had been spent in this siege," "Three or four days passed in concerting this plan," "The next day," etc.

After drawing up the following Diary from the Narratives of Cortés and Bernal Díaz, I compared it with the dates given by Orozco y Berra, in his *History of Mexico*, and found that there was hardly any difference.

Cortés being himself in command and writing his letters to the Emperor within nine months of the end of the siege (the Third Letter is dated 15th May, 1522) is more trustworthy in the matter of dates and the sequence of events than Bernal Díaz, who wrote many years afterwards and frequently repeats himself and places events in the wrong order.

It has not been thought necessary to disentangle the events described by Bernal Díaz in his narrative of the siege, but merely to place occasionally a date in a footnote, to enable the reader to refer to the Diary.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE.

April.

28. Cortés holds a review. The launches are launched in the Canal.

M. 29. Messengers sent to Tlaxcala and other towns warning the Native Contingents to be ready to march in ten days.

May.

S. 19. Feast of Espiritu Santo.

M. 20. Cortés divides his forces and appoints Commanders.

T. 21.

W. 22. Alvarado and Olid leave Texcoco for Acolman.

Th. 23. Alvarado and Olid march to Citlaltepec.

F. 24. Alvarado and Olid march to Guatitlan.

Sat. 25. Alvarado and Olid march by Tenaynca and Azcapotzalco to Tacuba.

S. 26. *After hearing Mass* (B.D.), Alvarado and Olid cut off the water from Chapultepec and make a reconnoisance on Tacuba Causeway.

M. 27. Olid leaves Tacuba for Coyoacan, finds it deserted, goes to look at the Causeway to Mexico, which he finds broken.

T. 28.
W. 29. } Alvarado remains in camp at Tacuba.
Th. 30.[1]

F. 31. Sandoval leaves Texcoco for Iztapalapa, and attacks that town. Cortés sets out from Texcoco with the launches, attacks the Peñon (del Marques), fights a battle with the canoes in the lake, and lands on the Iztapalapa Causeway at Acachinanco, which he makes his headquarters.

Olid, from Coyoacan, fights his way along the Causeway and joins Cortés at Acachinanco; as Cortés says that Olid was helped by the launches "which sailed near the Causeway," it must have been the Iztapalapa Causeway along which he marched; he apparently returned to his headquarters at Coyoacan that night.

June.

Sat. 1. Cortés, reinforced by some of Olid's troops, reaches the first houses in the City.

Enlarges or makes a breach in the Iztapalapa Causeway, so that the launches can pass to the west side.

S. 2.

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[1] Feast of Corpus Christi.

June.

M. 3.
T. 4.
W. 5.
Th. 6.
F. 7.
Sat. 8. Alvarado reports Tepeacac Causeway open.
S. 9. Sandoval arrives at Tepeacac.
M. 10. Cortés captures Xoloc and reaches the Plaza.
T. 11. Cortés pushes his attack.
W. 12.
Th. 13.
F. 14. } No fighting from Cortés's side.
Sat. 15.
S. 16. General assault. Cortés reaches the Plaza. Burns Montezuma's Palaces.
M. 17. Cortés captures two bridges on the Tacuba street.
Alvarado writes from the Causeway.
Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culuacan, Mexquic, and Cuitlahuac seek peace and build huts for Spaniards on Iztapalapa Causeway.
T. 18.
W. 19.
Th. 20.
F. 21.
Sat. 22. } Continual attacks on the City, with the assistance of a fleet of Canoes provided by the towns on the lake, in all 100,000 Indian allies. Cortés captured and filled up three bridges on the Tacuba street. Sandoval and Alvarado also advanced successfully, and the Spaniards appeared to have captured three-quarters of the City.
S. 23. Defeat of Alvarado at the large water-opening.
M. 24. Cortés visits Alvarado's camp.
T. 25.
W. 26.
Th. 27.
F. 28.
Sat. 29. } Alvarado on the defensive while recovering from his defeat. Cortés made continual attacks, and after consulting his officers made plans for a combined attack on Sunday (B.D.), 30th June.
S. 30. Defeat of Cortés. Many Spaniards captured alive. Alvarado fairly successful. Cortés made his attack from the Tacuba street along the three streets running north from Tacuba street towards Tlatelolco. The Spaniards probably crossed the large water-opening which originally divided Tenochtitlan from Tlatelolco, and it was on the Causeway connecting the two Cities that they met with their disaster.

July.

M. 1.
T. 2. Cuernavaca begs Cortés for help. Cortés despatches Andrés de Tápia with a force to their assistance.

July.

W. 3. Andrés de Tápia absent on expedition to Malinalco.
Th. 4. No advance was made on Alvarado's part during the next
F. 5. few days. A large water-opening was filled in.
Sat. 6. Cortés[1] kept up attack at intervals as far as the Plaza,
S. 7. and Chichimecatecle advanced from Alvarado's camp
M. 8. without the assistance of the Spaniards, but nothing of
T. 9. importance appears to have taken place until
W. 10. Return of Andrés de Tápia (?).
Th. 11.
F. 12. The Otomies beg Cortés for help. Cortés despatches Sandoval with a force to their assistance.
Sat. 13. Alvarado's camp attacked by full force of Mexicans at dawn. Cortés sends reinforcements.
S. 14.
M. 15. Native Allies begin to rejoin the Spaniards. Powder and arms arrived from a vessel which had put into Vera Cruz. Forty-fifth day of siege.
T. 16.
W. 17. Sandoval returns from his Expedition (?).
Th. 18. Mexicans propose peace on condition that the Spaniards leave the country.
F. 19. Cortés determines on the systematic destruction of buildings.
Sat. 20.
S. 21. General attack on the City. Cortés slaughters great
M. 22. numbers by an ambush in the Plaza, and finally clears
T. 23. the Plaza of Tenochtitlan of the enemy. Clears and
W. 24. fills up Tacuba street (so that communication was
Th. 25. effected with Alvarado's Camp although the forces did not join hands), and Guatemoc's palace on Tacuba street was destroyed.
Th. 25. SANTIAGO'S DAY, Cortés crossed and filled in the broad water space between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco.
F. 26. Cortés reaches Sta Ana (Xacaculco), and finds the heads of Spaniards in a temple.
Sat. 27. Alvarado reaches the Market-place of Tlatelolco and sets fire to the great temple.
S. 28. Cortés and Alvarado meet in the Market-place of Tlatelolco.

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[1] A few days after the defeat many of the native allies deserted the Spaniards and returned to their homes, disheartened by the Spaniards' failure to capture the City and scared by a prophecy of the God Huichilobos that all the Spaniards would be killed within eight or ten days.

July.

M. 29. Catapult brought to Tlatelolco.
T. 30. No fighting.
W. 31. No fighting.

August.

Th. 1.
F. 2.
Sat. 3.
S. 4.
M. 5.
T. 6.
} Between Monday, 29th July, and the capture of Guatemoc on the 13th August, the dates of events cannot be stated with any certainty The Spaniards were tired out and the Mexicans utterly exhausted, and apparently for some days no fighting took place. During part of this time the Spaniards were at work on a Catapult which proved a complete failure. Throughout these last days Cortés made efforts to induce the Mexicans to give in without further fighting and slaughter.

W. 7. After unsuccessful negotiations P. de Alvarado was ordered to attack a quarter containing more than a thousand houses (probably to the N. of the Plaza of Tlatelolco), and drove out the Mexicans with fearful slaughter.

Th. 8. More unsuccessful negotiations.

F. 9. A Texcocan chieftain, who had been taken prisoner, was freed and sent back to Guatemoc with messages of peace, but Guatemoc ordered him to be killed at once and sacrificed to the Gods. The Mexicans then made their final attack on the Spaniards.

Sat. 10.
S. 11.
} Two days of fruitless negotiation.

M. 12. The Mexicans ask Cortés to meet Guatemoc in the Market-place. Guatemoc fails to appear, and after waiting for three or four hours Cortés ordered his troops and the allies to attack, with the result that the Mexican killed, wounded, and prisoners numbered more than 40,000.

T. 13. *San Hipolito's Day.* Finally, on this day Cortés, Alvarado and the Indian Allies made an attack on the extreme N.E. corner of the City, where the wretched half-starved remnant of the Mexicans still held out. Sandoval, with the launches, cut off the retreat of the Mexican canoes towards the lake, and amid scenes of awful carnage the last houses of the City were captured and Guatemoc who attempted to escape in a canoe, was taken prisoner.

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PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, LONDON, W.C.

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VICTORIA